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A Guide to Niẓamu-d Dīn

BY

MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

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INTRODUCTION.

This monograph is an attempt to give a descriptive and historical account of the chief monuments in the group of buildings found within the enclosure of the village of Nizāmu-d Dīn, as well as brief biographical notices of the saint and other important personages who lie buried there, and whose tombs have been noticed. It is difficult to relate the history of a saint without legends, and here also a few of the legendary accounts, which testify to the miraculous powers of the saint, have been narrated but they have been confined to only those which are of a historical nature and, in most cases, have been referred to in authentic historical records. Some of the authorities quoted here are quite rare, not noticed before in any of the publications dealing with the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, and they throw additional light on its history.

My best thanks are due to Mr. J. A. Page, A.R.I.B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, who kindly arranged to supply me with the plan and photographs. I should also acknowledge with thanks the valuable assistance of Maulvi Ashfaq Ali in collecting material for this monograph.

DELHI:
August 1st, 1919.

ZAFAR HASAN, *Assistant Superintendent,*
Archæological Survey of India, Delhi.

CONTENTS

Page.

Biography of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn 1
His ancestors. 1 ; his birth. 1 ; his departure to Dehlī. 2 ; becomes disciple of Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj. 2 ; his return to Dehlī and residence at Ghiyāthpur, 2 ; his relation with the emperors of Dehlī. 3 ; his death 6 ; general remarks. 6.

The village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn 7

Baōlī of Niẓāmu-d Dīn 7

Chīnī kā Burj 7

Tomb of Bāī Kokaldī 7
Inscription on a marble tablet set into the floor, 8 ; inscription on the grave of Bāī Kokaldī, 8.

Lāl Chaubāra 9

Arcaded passage on the east and south walls of the bāolī 9
Inscription on the southern arch of the entrance to the south of the baōlī. 9.

Enclosure containing the tomb of Niẓāmu-d Dīn 10

Tomb of Niẓāmu-d Dīn 10

Jamā'at Khāna. 14

Majlis Khāna 16

Tomb of Jahānārā 16

Tomb of Muhammad Shāh 18

Tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr 18
Grave of Mirzā Bābar, 19.

House of Mirzā Jahāngīr 19
Grave of Mirzā Bābar's wife. 19 ; grave of Khūāja 'Abdu-r Raḥmān. 20.

An open court to the east of the enclosure of Niẓāmu-d Dīn 20
Inscriptions on the southern doorway of the court. 20 ; grave of Mirzā Muqīm, 20 ; grave of Abul Fazāil. 20.

Enclosure of Amīr Khusrau 21
Northern doorway. 21 ; eastern gateway. 21.

Tomb of Amīr Khusrau 22
Short biography of Amīr Khusrau, 27.

Dālān of Mirdhā Ikrām 29

Grave of Ziyāu-d Dīn Barnī 30

Khān-i Daurān Khān's mosque 30

Langar Khāna 30

Tomb of Atgbh Khān 31
Short biographical account of Atgah Khān, 31.

Khānqāh of Bahrām Shāh 32
Grave of Bahrām Shāh, 32 ; grave of the wife of Bahrām Shāh, 32 ; grave of Khūājgī. 33

	Page.
CHAUNSAH KHAMBAH	34
Short biographical account of Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh, 34.	
LAL MAHALL	35
INSCRIBED MOSQUE OF KHĀN-I JAHĀN	35
Short biographical account of Khān-i Jahān Maqbūl and Khān-i Jahān bin Khān-i Jahān Jūnān Shāh, 36.	
TOMB OF KHĀN-I JAHĀN TILANGĀNĪ	37

LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE.

I.—Plan of the village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.

II.—(*a*) General view of the village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.
(*b*) General view of the Baōlī of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.

III.—(*a*) Tomb of Niẓāmu-d Dīn. (*b*) Wooden canopy inlaid with mother-of-pearl over the grave of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.

IV.—(*a*) East façade of Jamā'at Khāna. (*b*) Interior view of Jamā'at Khāna, showing pendentives.

V.—(*a*) Tomb of Jahānārā. (*b*) Langar Khāna and the eastern gateway of the enclosure of Amīr Khusrau.

VI.—(*a*) Interior view of the tomb of Jahānārā, showing the inscribed slab at the head of her grave.
(*b*) Eastern gateway of the mosque of Khān-i Jahān, showing the inscription.

VII.—(*a*) Tomb of Muḥammad Shāh. (*b*) Tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr.

VIII.—(*a*) Tomb of Amīr Khusrau. (*b*) Mosque of Khān-i Daurān Khān.

IX.—(*a*) Tomb of Atgah Khān. (*b*) Inscribed mosque of Khān-i Jahān Jūnān Shāh.

X.—(*a*) North gate of Chaunsaṭh Khamba. (*b*) Chaunsaṭh Khamba.

XI.—(*a*) Lāl Maḥall. (*b*) Tomb of Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī.

A GUIDE TO NIZĀMU-D DĪN.

The tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is one of the most popular shrines in India, being visited by pilgrims from all parts of the country. It is situated in a village, called after the saint, which lies some four miles to the south of Shāhjahānābād (Dehlī city) on the Delhi Muttra road.

Biography of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn.

Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, whose real name was Muḥammad, was surnamed Sulṭānu-l Mashāikh Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn Auliyā.[1] He was a Chishtī saint, fourth in succession from Khūāja Mu'īnu-d Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, the founder of the line, the second having been Khūāja Quṭbu-d Dīn Bakhtīyār Kākī, better known as Quṭb Ṣāḥib whose shrine is at Mehraulī, and the third Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar Ganj of Pāk Paṭan, the *Pīr* or preceptor of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn.

His ancestors.

The original home of his ancestors, who were Sayyid by caste, had been Bukhāra. It was the grandfather of the saint, named Sayyid 'Alī-al Bukhārī,[2] who immigrated with his cousin Sayyid Khūāja 'Arab into India during the early Muslim invasions. They first stayed at Lahore, but afterwards proceeded to Badāūn, and as the latter city was the chief religious place at that time, they selected it for their residence.[3] Sayyid Aḥmad, the son of Sayyid 'Alī, was appointed Qāzī of Badāūn[4] by the Sultan of the time. Khūāja 'Arab is said to have been a wealthy man, having a large number of slaves who carried on trade with his capital.[5] The relationship between the two cousins, Sayyid 'Alī and Khūāja 'Arab, was further strengthened by the marriage of Sayyid Aḥmad with Bībī Zulaikha, the daughter of Khūāja 'Arab, and our saint was born of this union at Badāūn on Wednesday the 27th of Safar in the year 636 A.H. (9th October 1238 A.D.)[6] Sayyid Aḥmad does not seem to have lived long after

His birth.

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1 *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 186 (*a*); *Akhbāru-l Akhyār*, p. 55.

2 *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 94; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 186 (*a*) and (*b*); *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 269 (*b*); *Azkār-i Abrār*, p. 82; *Akhbāru-l Akhyār*, p. 55. Farishta followed by a few other authorities gives the name of the grandfather of the saint as Dānyāl, and says that he came to India from Ghaznī (*Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 391).

3 *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 94; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 186 (*b*).

4 *Mirat-i Āftāb Numā*, folio 93 (*b*).

5 *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 94.

6 *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 270*b*; *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 154. *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (pt. II, p. 391) and *Khazīnatu-l Asfīyā* (vol. I, p. 329) record the birth of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn in the year 634 A.H. (1236 A.D.) while *Mirat-i Āftāb Numā* has it in 635 A.H. (1237 A.D.). But the author of Siyaru-l Auliyā was a disciple and contemporary of the saint, and his statement may be considered more reliable. All these authorities, however, concur in the date of the month, which is given as the 27th of Safar, the second month of Hijra year.

his marriage, for he died when Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn was only five years old. The saint was thus brought up by his mother, who acquitted herself admirably of her charge.

His departure to Dehli.

At the age of 16 Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn repaired from Badāūn to Dehlī to complete his education[1] and he studied there for three or four years under Khūāja Shamsu-d Dīn, the most distinguished scholar of his time, upon whom the emperor Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Balban subsequently conferred the post of Wazīr with the title of Shamsu-l Mulk.[2] It was on this occasion that Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn contracted a friendship with Shaikh Najību-d Dīn Mutawakkil, the younger brother of Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar Ganj, which resulted in his becoming a disciple of the latter. He is known to have heard of Shakar Ganj at Badāūn, and in the company of Shaikh Najību-d Dīn learnt so much of his saintly attributes, that he was inspired with the desire of seeing him. During this period he lost his mother,[3] and was free to go to Ajodhan now known as Pāk Paṭan, where Shakar Ganj was living. It is stated that after completing his education at Dehlī, Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn expressed a desire for the post of *Qāẓī* of that city, but Shaikh Najību-d Dīn dissuaded him from it.[4]

Becomes a disciple of Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj.

In the year 655 A.H. (1257 A.D.) when 20 years old, Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn set out for Pāk Paṭan.[5] He was received with marked favour by Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj, who forthwith made him his disciple, and after a short training of seven months and a few days sent him back to Dehlī, entrusted with the commission of public guidance.[6] Subsequently on the 3rd of Ramazān 663 A.H. (29th June 1265 A.D.)[7] Shakar Ganj appointed Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn his chief disciple, and granted him a certificate to this effect, which is preserved in Siyaru-l Auliyā (pp. 117-119), while at the time of his death, which happened a few months later on the 15th of Muharram 664 A.H. (27th October 1265 A.D.),[8] the former bequeathed to the latter the relics, *viz.*, a cloak, a prayer carpet and a staff which he had inherited from his own preceptor Khūāja Quṭbu-d Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.[9]

His return to Dehli and residence at Ghiyāthpur.

On his return to Dehlī after the short stay at Pāk Paṭan in 655 A.H. (1257 A.D.) Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn had no place to live in, nor did he like the bustle of the city. Accordingly, after a sojourn of a few years there, he settled finally at Ghiyāthpur, which was an insignificant village at that time, but according to legend, selected as his residence under divine guidance.[10] There he built a thatched house on the bank of the river

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[1] *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 100; *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 274*b*. According to *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (pt. II, p. 391) and *Siyaru-l 'Ārifīn* (p. 59) the saint was 25 years old when he went to Dehlī, while in *Thamarātu-l Quds* (folio 187 (*b*)) his departure is said to have taken place at the age of 12.

[2] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 391.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 391.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 391-92.

[5] *Rāhata-l Qalūb*, p. 2 et seq; *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, pp. 107 and 154; *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 276 (*a*) and 284(*a*).

[6] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 392; *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, 329.

[7] The author of *Siyaru-l Auliyā* (p. 116) gives the date of this event as 669 A.H. (1271 A.D), which cannot be correct, as Shakar Ganj died early in the year 664 A.H. (1265 A.D.).

[8] *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, p. 329; *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 91; *Akhbāru-l Akhyār*, p. 54. Farishta (pt. II, p. 390) erroneously places the death of Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj in the year 760 A.H. (1358 A.D.); he also makes a mistake in the date of his birth, which he gives as 584 A.H. (1188-89 A.D.). According to Siyaru-l Auliyā Shakar Ganj was born in 569 A.H. (1173-74 A.D.), while in 584 A.H. he became the disciple of Khūāja Quṭbu-d Dīn.

[9] *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, pp. 116-122; *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folios 284 (*a*) and 286 (*b*).

[10] *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, pp. 108-11; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folios 226-27; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 393; *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 288 (*a*) *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiyā*, vol. 1, p. 329.

Jamna, where subsequently during the reign of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī, Khūāja Zīyāu-d Dīn 'Imādu-l Mulk, one of his disciples, erected a monastery (*Khānqāh*) for him.[1] Local tradition avers that the dilapidated building, known as the *Chillagāh* of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, which stands at the north-east corner of the enclosure of Humāyūn's tomb, is the house occupied by the Shaikh during his lifetime. Once settled in this village, he lived there until the close of his life, and was buried there after his death. Ghiyāthpur, the original name of the village still survives, but has been given to a *pattī* or subdivision of Niẓāmpur.

A few years after settling at Ghiyāthpur, the fame of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn as a saint was established, and his convent was attended by large numbers of disciples. The transference of the royal residence to Kilūkhrī,[2] some two miles to the south-east of Ghiyāthpur, during the reigns of Mu'izzu-d Dīn Kaiqubād and Jalālu-d Dīn Khaljī, increased the number of his followers, and made him popular among the nobles and the attendants of the court, who came in the train of these emperors and resided in his neighbourhood. The author of Siyaru-l Aulīyā relates this event in the very words of the saint as follows: "At the time I settled at Ghiyāthpur it had been only an insignificant village with very little population, but when Kaiqubād took his residence at Kilūkhrī, a crowd of people came over here, and the nobles, the courtiers and the public disturbed me by their visits."[3]

His relation with the emperors of Delhī.

The popularity of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn among the nobles and courtiers soon made him known to the emperors of Delhī, although he disliked their company and did not care to attend the royal court. Jalālu-d Dīn and his successor 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī treated him with great respect, and the latter emperor is known to have asked his prayers in cases of emergency. On the other hand, the emperors Quṭbu-d Dīn Khaljī and Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq were by no means favourably disposed towards the saint, and conceived measures to persecute him, thus, according to common belief bringing about their own ruin. Of the many stories told about the relations of the saint with the emperors, the following, which refer to historical events, deserve repetition.

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[1] *Shamarātu-l Amwār*, folios 288-89 and 322 (*b*), see also *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 227 (*a*).

[2] Kaiqubād gave up residing in the city (Old Dehlī), and, quitting the Red Palace, he built a splendid palace and laid out a beautiful garden at Kilūkhrī, on the banks of the Jamna. Thither he retired with the nobles and attendants of his court, and when it was seen that he had resolved upon residing there, the nobles and officers also built palaces and dwellings, and taking up their abode there, Kilūkhrī became a populous place. (*Elliot*, vol. III, p. 126; *Zīyā-i Barnī*, p. 130.)

Sultān Jalālu-d Dīn Fīroz Khaljī ascended the throne in the palace of Kilūkhrī, in the year 688 A.H. (1289 A.D.). The people of the city (of Dehlī) had for eighty years been governed by sovereigns of Turk extraction, and were averse to the succession of Khaljīs; for this reason the new Sultān did not go into the capital. The great men and nobles, the learned men, the generals, and the celebrities with whom the city was then filled, went out to pay their respects to the new Sultān, and to receive robes. In the course of the first year of the reign the citizens, the soldiers and traders, of all degrees and classes, went to Kilūkhrī, where the Sultān had a public Darbār.

The Sultān, not being able to go into Dehlī, made Kilūkhrī his capital, and fixed his abode there. He ordered the palace, which Kaiqubād had begun, to be completed and embellished with paintings; and he directed the formation of a splendid garden in front of it on the banks of the Jamna. The princes and nobles and officers, and the principal men of the city, were commanded to build houses at Kilūkhrī. Several of the traders were also brought from Dehlī, and bazars were established. Kilūkhrī then obtained the name of "New town." A lofty stone fort was commenced and the erection of its defences was allotted to the nobles, who divided the work of building among them. The great men and officers were averse to building houses there, but as the Sultān made his residence, in three or four years houses sprung up on every side, and the markets became well supplied. (*Elliot*, vol. III, 135-36; *Zīyā-i Barnī*, 175-76.)

[3] *Siyaru-l Aulīyā*, p. 111, see also *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 227 (*a*) and *Shamarātu-l Amwār*, folio 288 (*b*).

Jalālu-d Dīn Khaljī who was probably the first emperor of Dehlī to pay regard to the saint, once offered him a village for his maintenance, but the saint refused to accept it,[1] and refused also the emperor's request for permission to attend his monastery.[2] 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī who also entertained great respect for the saint, was similarly refused the privilege of attending upon him.[3] In the year 703 A.H. (1303—4 A.D.) Dehlī was invaded by the Mughals under Tārghī Beg, and the emperor 'Alāu-d Dīn, whose chosen forces were absent on an expedition to Wārangal in the Deccan, was not in a position to face the enemy. He entrenched himself, however, at Sīrī, whereon the Mughals entered the city many times, and plundered the stores of grain. At length the emperor had recourse to Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, and it is related that the same night Tārghī Beg was seized with panic and retired to his own country.[4]

In the year 710 A.H. (1310-11 A.D.) when Malik Nāib ('Alāu-d Dīn's general, better known as Malik Kāfūr) having conquered Ārangal (Wārangal) was returning to Dehlī loaded with booty, the news did not reach the capital for some time owing to the disarrangement of the posts (*Thānas*). This caused much anxiety to the emperor, who sent two of his nobles, Malik Qarā Beg and Qāẓī Mughīthu-d Dīn, to Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn with a request to favour him with intelligence by divine revelation. The saint informed them of the victory of the royal force and predicted many other conquests to the royal arms. The next day news of the conquest of Wārangal arrived from Malik Nāib.[5]

'Alāu-d Dīn himself was not a follower of the saint, but at the instance of Malik Qarā Beg, the princes Khizr Khān and Shadī Khān were made his disciples, on which occasion the emperor sent him a gift of two lacs of *tankas* for the attendants of his convent [6](درویشان جماعتخانه). In this connection Farishta writes "The magnificent building which stands at his tomb was erected by Khizr Khān." The name of the building, however, is not given, but it probably refers to the mosque now known as Jamā'at Khāna.

Qutbu-d Dīn, the successor of 'Alāu-d Dīn, was not on good terms with Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, and Amīr Khurd, the author of Siyaru-l Aulīyā and a disciple of the saint gives the following reasons for it. "The emperor had erected a Jāmi' mosque at Sīrī, the new capital of 'Alāu-d Dīn. On the first day after its completion he announced that all the saints and learned men of Dehlī should offer their Jum'a prayers in his newly built mosque. The saint however took no heed of the royal mandate, declaring that he had a mosque for prayer in his own neighbourhood. Again, it had been a practice for all the nobles, learned men and saints to attend the court on the first day of every lunar month in order to offer greetings to the emperor. Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn did not observe this ceremony personally, but sent his slave Iqbāl. Thereupon the

[1] *Siyaru-l Aulīyā*, p. 114 ; *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 291.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 135.

[3] *Zīyā-i Barnī*, 332 ; *Siyaru-l Aulīyā*, p. 135 ; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 199.

[4] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. I, pp. 111-2 ; *Briggs*, vol. I, pp. 353-55. This event has also been referred to by Zīyā-i Barnī, but he makes no mention of the saint. He says :—"After two months the prayers of the wretched prevailed, and the accursed Tārghī retreated towards his own country." (*Zīyā-i Barnī*, pp. 301-2 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, pp. 190-91.)

[5] *Zīyā-i Barnī*, pp. 331-2 ; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. I, p. 119. This account is also given in *Thamarātu-l Quds* (folio 192 *a* and *b*) and *Khazīnatu-l Afiyā* (vol. I, pp. 333-34), but with a little variation in certain particulars.

[6] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, III, p. 394 ; see also *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 192 (*a*) and *Khazīnatu-l Asfīyā*, vol. I, p. 331.

enemies of the saint sought to stir up the emperor against him, and the latter decided to punish him if he failed to attend the court at the next moon. But it so happened that the emperor was killed by his favourite slave Khusrau Khān on the very night of the first moon, before he could carry out his intention."[1] Tārīkh-i Farishta, followed by Khazīnatu-l Asfīya, records that the emperor Qutbu-d Dīn bore a grudge against Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn because of Khizr Khān, a disciple of the saint whom Qutbu-d-Dīn killed on ascending the throne.[2] But this statement is not supported by facts: Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān were imprisoned in the fort of Gawālīyār and blinded by Malik Nāib, who had placed prince Shihābu-d Dīn, a boy of seven years, on the throne after the death of 'Alāu-d Dīn, while the accession of Qutbu-d Dīn took place after the deposition of Shihābu-d Dīn.[3]

The hostility between the emperor Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq and the saint is well known, and different stories are narrated to explain it. The one given in Tārikh-i Farishta (pt. II, pp. 397-398) and Shajaratu-l Anwār (folios 395-6) runs as follows:—

Khusrau Khān, who ascended the throne after the murder of the emperor Qutbu-d Dīn, made a gift of a sum of money to each of the saints in his dominion. A few of them refused to accept it, while the others kept it in deposit, but Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn spent the whole amount he had received. Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq on his accession to the throne demanded the money distributed by Khusrau Khān. Most of the saints paid what was due from them, but Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn did not make any response to the royal demand. Thereupon, the opponents of the saint thought it a good opportunity to accuse him of indulging in music which is forbidden by the Muslim religion as propounded by Imām Abū Ḥanīfa,[4] and suggested to the emperor to elicit the views of theologians on the subject. Accordingly the saint was summoned to the fort of Tughlaqābād to clear himself of the charge brought against him. While the discussion was going on between the theologians and the saint, in the presence of the emperor, Maulānā 'Ilmu-d Dīn, the grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d Dīn, reached the court from Multān, and the matter was referred to him. The Maulāna, who was a great authority, justified Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn's pleasure in music, and the latter was allowed to return home. The emperor however, although he did not interfere with the saint, was not pleased with him. Whilst he was returning from Bengal, he sent word to the saint to leave Dehlī before his arrival. The saint who was then ill, said in reply "Dehlī is still far off" and this prediction came to pass, for the emperor never reached Dehlī, being crushed to death by the fall of a house at Tughlaqābad. The prediction has now become a proverb in India.

Ibn-i Batūta, who visited India during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq, a few years after the death of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, makes the following reference to him.

" There was then at Dehlī a saint, Niẓāmu-d Dīn of Badāūn. Jūnān Khān (name of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh when he was a prince) often visited him to implore his

[1] *Siyaru-l Auliya*, pp. 150-51, see also *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 193 (*a*) and (*b*).

[2] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, pp. 394-95; *Khazīnatu-l Asfīyā*, vol. I, p. 331.

[3] *Zīyā-i Barnī*, pp. 372 seq; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. I, p. 123; *Khulāsatu-t Tawārīkh*, pp. 228-29.

[4] Imām Abū Ḥanīfa also called Imām-i 'Āzam was one of the four jurisconsults of Islām, *viz.*, Imām Abu Ḥanīfa Imām Ḥanbal, Imām Shafa'i and Imām Mālik, from whom are derived the various codes of Muslim jurisprudence.

prayers. One day he told the servants of the Shaikh to let him know when the latter should be in a state of ecstacy. When this happened Jūnān Khān was accordingly informed. As soon as the Shaikh saw him he exclaimed 'We gave you the kingdom.' In the meanwhile the Shaikh died, and Jūnān Khān bore his bier upon his shoulders. The emperor (Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq) heard of this, and was much annoyed."[1]

The statement of Ibn-i Batūta is not very reliable, being contradicted by the fact that the saint died a few months after Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq, whose death is commonly believed to have been caused by the curse of the saint.

His death.

At the age of 89 the saint fell ill,[2] and after a continued sickness of a few months died at sunset on Wednesday the 18th of Rabī'a II in the year 725 A.H. (3rd April 1325 A.D.). On his deathbed he distributed all his property to the poor, while he presented his clothes to his chief disciples. The sacred relics,[3] which had descended to him from his preceptor, Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj, were passed on to Shaikh Naṣīru-d Dīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī, whom he thus declared his successor, advising him to stay at Dehlī, and to bear patiently the persecution, which should be inflicted upon him.

General remarks.

Carr Stephen (pp. 102-103) makes the following remarks about the saint —

"There were Muhammadan saints in India who are still reckoned as superior to Nizām-u ddīn in piety and in 'the secret knowledge of the future'; but none equalled him in the hold he acquired on such varied classes of his co-religionists. Of his own fraternity, the well known Chishtīs, there are three names before whom royalty has humbled itself, and which still hold a place in the daily thoughts and feelings of thousands of believers." "While living, he drew the pious allegiance of eager multitudes, and after his death, down to the very date of our description, pilgrimages are made to his tomb from all parts of India, and miracles are still worked there for the believing."[4]

Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is said to have worked many miracles, which need not be related here. In accordance with the advice of his preceptor he did not marry.[5] The attendants of the shrine who reside in the village of Nizāmu-d Dīn and are styled *Pīrzādas* are the descendants of his sister. He was also the founder of a Sufic order, subsidiary to that of Chishtīya and known after him as Chishtīya Nizāmīya. The *'Urs* or anniversary of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is celebrated on the 17th and 18th of Rabī'a II, when his shrine is attended by large numbers of visitors and a *mela* is held there

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[1] *Ibn-i Batūta*, p. 86; *Elliot*, vol. III, pp. 609-10, see also *Keene*, p. 53.

[2] *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 154; *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 336 seq. Historians differ regarding the age of the saint. *Tārīkh i Farishta* (pt. II, p. 398) says 95 years, while in *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiyā* (vol. I, p. 338) it is quoted as 94 years from *Mukhbiru-l Wāṣilīn* and *Shajrai chishtīyā* and 91 years from *Tadhkiratu-l 'Ashiqīn* and *Siyaru-l Aṣfiyā*.

[3] It is interesting to note that the number of these relics differ according to various authors, but all concur in saying that the saint gave to Chirāgh-i Dehlī "All what he had inherited from Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj." According to *Thamarātu-l Quds* (folio 261 *a* and *b*) these relics consisted of a cloak, a prayer carpet, a staff, a wooden bowl, a rosary and a pair of shoes. Farishta (vol. II, p. 398) repeats the list, but leaves out the pair of shoes, while *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiyā* (vol. II, p. 337-8) omits the shoes as well as the rosary. *Siyaru-l Auliyā* (p. 122) makes no mention of the bestowal of these relics upon Chiragh-i Dehlī, but it records that only the first three articles, *viz.*, a cloak, a carpet and a staff were received by Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn from Shakar Ganj.

[4] One of the Amīrs of the court of Akbar, Husāmu-d Dīn, "though a young man, expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as *faqīr* at the tomb of Nizāmuddīn Auliā in Dihlī. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihlī." (*Āīn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 440-41.)

[5] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 398; *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, p. 336.

The village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn was enclosed by a rubble masonry wall, which was repaired by Nawāb Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān of Fīrozpur[1] about the year 1223 A.H. (1808 A.D.), when he restored the verandah surrounding the tomb of the saint. The enclosing wall together with the gateways on the east, west and north which gave entrance to the village is now in ruins. The southern part of the village, where lies a Kot or walled enclosure, is reserved for the residences of the attendants at the shrine; while the northern part, termed *Yārānī Chabūtra*, is occupied by innumerable graves and tombs of the followers of the saint, including those of the Mughal princes and nobles, who were attracted by its sanctity to select it for their last resting place. **Village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.**

The main entrance to the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn is through a battlemented doorway at the north-east corner of the village, about 100 yards to the south of the road from Humāyūn's tomb to Safdar Jang. On entering it, the first object of interest which meets the eye is a *bāolī* (Plate II, *b*), said to have been built by the saint, who initiated the work by digging with his own hands,[2] and uttered a blessing on its water that he who drank one drop of it should have no fear against the fire of hell.[3] An interesting anecdote concerning its erection is related locally. It is said that the saint was building his well at the same time that the emperor was engaged in constructing the fort of Tughlaqābād, and Ghiyāthu-d Dīn anxious for its completion, did not want to have any of the Dehlī workmen employed elsewhere. They were accordingly prohibited from working on the *bāolī* and compelled to work at Tughlaqābād. They worked, however, for the saint at night. Thereupon the emperor prohibited the sale of oil to the saint, but the workmen found the water of the *bāolī* answer their purpose equally well. Niẓāmu-d Dīn complained to Sayyid Maḥmūd Behār, who happened to be building a mud wall, and the latter, angered at the emperor's persecution of the saint, levelled his mud wall to the ground exclaiming at the same time "I have destroyed his empire."[4] The water of the *bāolī*, which is brackish, is considered holy by believers, who bathe in it and consider it efficacious in curing diseases and expelling evil spirits. **Bāolī of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.**

The *bāolī* measures internally 123′ by 53′ and is enclosed by dressed stone walls on the south, east and west, while on the north are the descending steps which are said to go to a great depth into the well. On the 1st July 1918 there were 38 steps above the water level. On the west wall of the *bāolī* are several tombs including a double storeyed mosque called the *Chīnī kā Burj*, and from the top of these buildings men and boys dive for *bakhshish* into the water below from a height of some sixty feet.

The *Chīnī kā Burj*, which is in a dilapidated state, measures 21′ by 12′ 9″ internally, and has three arched openings on the east. The upper storey consists of a domed chamber 9′ 4″ square with remnants of tile decoration on the outside, which has given the building its name. Internally, the walls of this upper chamber, which are profusely ornamented with incised plaster and tile work, bear fragmentary verses lamenting the death of a lady, named Zuhrā. **Chīnī kā Burj.**

Another building worthy of notice on the west wall of the *bāolī* is a tomb, locally known as that of Bāī Kokaldī. It is an elegant marble pavilion 13′ 6″ by 11′ 5″ covered **Tomb of Bāī Kokaldī.**

[1] *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 28 (ed. Lucknow, 1900), chapter I, p. 42.

[2] *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Lucknow 1900), chapter I, p. 42.

[3] *Thamāratu-l Quds*, folio 264 (*a*).

[4] *Carr Stephen*, pp. 112-3.

by a vaulted roof, and containing three arched openings shaded by a *chhajja* on each of its four sides. An inscribed marble tablet is set into the floor of the building, and refers to its erection in the year 948 A.H. (1541-42 A.D.). The name of its founder is not given in the inscription, but it is apparent that it was not originally intended as the tomb of Bāī Kokaldī, who died in the year 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), more than a hundred years after the erection of the building. The inscription runs as follows :—

Inscription on a marble tablet set into the floor.

باسمه سبحانه

(۱) این روضه خلدائین با پنجره موزون   چون قصر بهشت آمد خوش منزل و ماوای

(۲) تا در نظر مردم شد جلوه گر این منزل   اهل نظر از هر سو دارند تماشاے

(۳) چون جاے خوشی آمد با اهل خرد گفتم   تاریخ بناے او جاے و چه خوش جائے

کاتبه حسین چشتی

Translation.

" With the name of him who is holy.

(1) This paradise-like tomb with excellent windows is a pleasant mansion and dwelling place like a palace in paradise.

(2) While this structure remains glorious in the sight of the people, spectators from every direction shall behold it with pleasure.

(3) As it is a place of pleasure, I said to the wise for the chronogram of the date of its erection ' a place and what a pleasant place.'

The scribe of this is Husain Chishtī."

Inscription on the grave of Bāī Kokaldī.

The grave of Bāī Kokaldī, which is of marble, lies inside the pavilion slightly to the west. It is inscribed with the 99 attributes of God and a quotation from the Quran, on the south side being the following inscription which contains the name of the deceased and the date of her death.

(۱) سال تاریخ موت او جستم   از دل صاف نیز پاک سرشت

(۲) آه سرد کشید و گفت بگو   باد همدم بحوریان بهشت

بائ کوکلدی بنت ملایم خان سنه [۰]۱۰۸

Translation.

(1) " I enquired of the heart, which is pure and of innocent disposition, the year of her death.

(2) It heaved a deep sigh and bid me say ' May she be a companion of the houris of paradise.'

Bāī Kokaldī, the daughter of Mulāyam Khān the year 108[0]."

The date in figures is not clear, but from the chronogram it is calculated as 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.).

No information is forthcoming about Bāī Kokaldī or her father Mulāyam Khān. Sangī Beg, the author of Sairu-l Manāzil (folio 41*b*) is of opinion that she was a mistress of Muḥammad Shāh, but this cannot be correct as her death antedated the birth of the emperor, which occurred in 1114 A.H. (1702 A.D.). From the fact that she was buried in a building of some pretension in the vicinity of the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, it may be hazarded that Bāī Kokaldī was a follower of the saint, and a lady of

some consequence. The tomb is also noticed in Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh (p. 274) where only the inscription on the grave is given.

Lāl Chaubāra.

Adjacent to the tomb of Bāī Kokaldī is a ruined pavilion of red sandstone known as Lāl Chaubāra, which contains a small marble grave assigned by local tradition to a child of royal family.

Arcaded passage on the east and south walls of the bāolī.

On the east and south walls of the *bāolī* is a narrow passage, which leads to the tomb of the saint, and has recently been paved with red stone slabs by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muḥammad Rafīq, Judge of the High Court of Allāhābād and a resident of Delhī. On the south and partly on the east, this passage is covered with a vaulted roof, which together with the rubble built structure immediately on the south was constructed by Malik Sayyidu-l Ḥujjāb Ma'rūf, the chamberlain of Fīroz Shāh, in the year 781 A.H. (1379-80 A.D.).[1] An inscription on the southern arch of the entrance, which gives access from the *bāolī* enclosure to the tomb of the saint, refers to the date and the erection of this building. It is engraved on a red sandstone slab in *Naskh* characters and runs as follows :—

Inscription on the southern arch of the entrance to the south of the bāolī.

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

(۱) بعهد دولت شاه معظم خجسته خسر و اولاد آدم
(۲) مدار دین احمد شاه فیروز شهه صاحبقران سلطان اعظم
(۳) موفق گشت از حق بنده معروف اساس این عمارت کرد محکم
(۴) جوار روضهٔ شیخ المشایخ نظام الحق و الدین قطب عالم
(۵) وحیدالدین قریشی والد من که با اهل ارادت بود همدم
(۶) بحسن اعتقاد و صدق اخلاص در اسرار ولی الله محرم
(۷) مرا چون برد پیش شیخ عالم بدست خود گرفت و کرد نامم
(۸) بلفظ خود مرا معروف خوانده درین عالم چو شیخ عیسوی دم
(۹) رجا دارم کز انفاس مبارک دران عالم بود معروفیم هم
(۱۰) بخوان تاریخ اتمام عمارت درین جا چون بیائی خیر مقدم
(۱۱) زهجرت هفتصد و هشتاد یک بود مرتب شد بنا و الله اعلم

Translation.

" With the name of God who is merciful and clement.

(1) In the reign of the great king, the fortunate monarch and the descendant of Adam,

(2) The support of the religion of Aḥmad (*i.e.*, the Prophet), (named) Fīroz Shāh, who is a king, Lord of the happy constellation and the greatest sovereign,

(3) The slave Ma'rūf was assisted by God, and he made firm the foundation of this building

(4) In the neighbourhood of the tomb of Shaikhu-l Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l Ḥaq Waddīn, the polar star of the world.

(5) Waḥīdu-d Dīn Quraishī, my father, who was a companion of the devotees (of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn).

(6) And who was confident in the secrets of the friend of God (Niẓāmu-d Dīn) with good faith and sincerity.

[1] *Āthāru-s Sanādīd* (ed. Lucknow, 1900), chapter I, p. 43.

(7) When he brought me before the chief of the world (Niẓāmu-d Dīn), he (the latter) took me in his arms and named me.
(8) And the Shaikh with the breath of Jesus named me Ma'rūf[1] in his own utterance, in this world.
(9) I hope through that auspicious utterance to attain to fame in the next world also.
(10) Read the date of the completion of this building as welcome when you visit this place.
(11) It was seven hundred and eighty one from Hijrat when this building was erected : God knows best."

Ma'rūf was a favourite noble of Fīroz Shāh having the rank and title of *Malik Sayyidu-l Ḥujjāb* (the chief of chamberlains). He together with his father Khūāja Wahīd Quraishī was a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn. and Malik Sayyidu-l Ḥujjāb enjoyed great fame for his piety and goodness towards people. Fīroz Shāh conferred great favours on him and entertained such a high opinion about his sagacity that he always consulted him in the affairs of the country. The story of his having been named by Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, as related in the epigraph, has been repeated by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf (pp. 445-451), who says that the Shaikh was performing ablutions when the father of Malik Sayyidu-l Ḥujjāb brought him on the very day of his birth to the Shaikh, and the latter called him Ma'rūf and put a drop of the water of his ablutions into his mouth.

Enclosure containing the tomb of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.

Further south, the passage leads to the enclosure which contains the tomb of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn and is entered by a doorway on the north. The enclosure, measuring 124′ 3″ north to south by 57′ 4″ east to west, is paved with marble, and is surrounded on the north, south and east by *Jālī* screens of red sandstone, while on the west is the mosque known as Jamā'at Khāna.

Tomb of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.

The tomb of the saint (Plate III, *a*) stands in the centre of the enclosure. It measures 31′ 9″ square externally, the verandah, which is 6′ 9″ in width and paved with marble, having 5 arched openings on each side, the openings measuring alternately 5′ 6″ and 3′ 3″. The columns of the verandah carry multifoiled arches, which in turn support a red sandstone *chhajja*. Above the latter is a *pinjra* parapet topped by a series of dwarf domes, the corners of the parapet being emphasised by dwarf marble *chhatrīs* with gilt finials. The arches of the verandah are usually hung with heavy cotton *pardahs*. The tomb chamber, which measures 15′ 8″ square internally and 17′ 7″ square externally, is entered through a silver-plated door on the south side, flanked by marble screens. It is lit by openings filled with marble *jālī* screens, set in sandstone frames, and also usually kept screened by *pardahs*. The floor round the grave is of marble. The dome, which is of bulbous type, springs from an octagonal drum, and is ornamented by vertical stripes of black marble and topped by the usual cresting, which serves as a base for the gilded finial. Internally, the dome is richly decorated with gold and coloured painting. It was much faded, and H. E. H. the Niẓām of Hyderabad recently made a grant of money for its restoration, which has been carried out by the Public Works Department, Delhi, under the supervision of the

[1] *Ma'rūf* literally means famous, and this meaning is alluded to in the verse 9th, wherein the gentleman expresses a hope to attain fame in the next world.

Archæological Department. To the north and east of the grave, the wall contains three screens of marble lattice work, the centre screen being larger than those on either side, while in the centre of the western wall is a gilded *miḥrāb*. A wooden canopy (Plate III, *b*) hangs over the grave, and plated glass balls are suspended round it as ornaments, producing a very tawdry effect. The marble grave, which is kept covered with a pall, is surrounded by a balustrade of the same material measuring 8′ 3″ by 4′ 4″ and 1′ 1″ in height.

At the head of the grave on a wooden stand is placed a manuscript copy of the *Qurān* which is oddly described by Professor J. N. Sarkar as having been written by the emperor Aurangzeb.[1] The manuscript is dated 1127 A.H. (1715-16 A.D.), some nine years after the death of that emperor, and there is no internal or external evidence to indicate that Aurangzeb or any other Mughal emperor was in any way connected with it. The attendants of the shrine relate that the copy of the *Qurān* has been there for a very long time, but they have no knowledge of its origin.

The history of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn's tomb, which has been repaired and added to from time to time, seems to be as follow :—

The saint was buried in the courtyard of the mosque which was built by him during his lifetime.[2] Soon afterwards, Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq erected a cupola over his grave.[3] It was ornamented by his successor Fīroz Shāh, who writes "I also made the arches of the dome and the lattice work of the tomb of his holiness Sulṭānu-l Mushāikh Niẓāmu-l Haq Waddīn—may God purify his grave—of *sandal* (wood), and hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome."[4] It was rebuilt in the time of the emperor Akbar. Lal Beg, the author of Thamrātu-l Quds, who was the Bakhshī (paymaster) of the prince Murād, the second son of Akbar, writing in the year 1006 A.H. (1597-98 A.D.) says "Let it be known that the stone pavement of the court of his (Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn's) shrine together with the latticed stone screens and the dome of his tomb were finished during the eternal reign of Jalālu-d Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the king champion of faith, by his dignified nobles such as Bairām Khān, Ā'ẓam Khān, Mirzā Khān and Khūāja Jahān, etc."[5] Apparently this refers to the re-erection of the central tomb chamber and Sayyid Farīdūn Khān, who put up at the head of the grave a marble slab engraved with the following inscription containing his name and the chronogram of the year 970 A.H. (1562-63 A.D.), seems to have been specially connected with the building operations.

لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله

(۱) شکر که در روضه حضرت غوث الانام — از پی تعمیر شد خان فلک احتشام

(۲) مهر نسب را شرف اوج شرف را شهاب — سید عالی نسب میر ملک احترام

(۳) بانی او هاشمی ساعی او هاشمی — آنکه بدوران شان عست سخن را نظام

(۴) از پی تاریخ آن چون متفکر شدم — کلک خرد زد رقم قبله گهه خاص و عام

(۵) روی بدرگاه او از فریدون بصدق — شاید از الطاف پیر کار تو گردد تمام

کاتبه حسین احمد چشتي

[1] *History of Aurangzeb*, vol I, pp. 5-6.

[2] *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 261 (*b*).

[3] *Siyaru-i Auliyā*, p. 154 ; *Shajaratu-l Anvār*, folio 238 (*b*).

[4] *Fatūḥat-i Fīroz Shāhī*, folio 10 (*b*).

[5] *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 263*b*-264*a*.

Translation.

" There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is his prophet.

(1) Thanks (be to God) that the Khān of the dignity of the sky resolved to build the tomb of his holiness the Ghauth[1] of the world (Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn).

(2) He (the Khān) is the glory of the sun of (his) family and a star of the height of honour, a Sayyid of high descent and a chief of the veneration of an angel.

(3) Its (the tomb's) founder was a Hāshmī (a descendant of Hāshim the ancestor of the Prophet) and its builder was (also) a Hāshmī, men in whose time flourish letters.

(4) When I sought to find out its date, the pen of wisdom wrote ' Qiblagāh[2] of nobles and commoners ' (*i.e.* all) (970 A.H.=1562-3 A.D.).

(5) O Farīdun turn your face with truth towards his tomb, perchance by the favour of the saint your work may be accomplished.

Scribe of this Ḥusain Aḥmad Chishtī."

In the year 1017 A.H (1608-9 A.D.) Farīd Murtaza Khān raised over the grave a wooden canopy inlaid with mother of pearl and incised with the following inscription:

(۱) شیخ دهلي نظام را دو فرید   کار دنیا و دین مهیا کرد
(۲) یک فریدش مقام فانی داد   یک فریدش مقام احیا کرد
(۳) مرتضی خان فراز مرقد او   قبه چون سپهر برپا کرد
(۴) ابر فیروزي از جهان برخاست   در یکدانه در صدف جا کرد
(۵) بر جهان کعبه مربع او   چار در از چهار حد وا کرد
(۶) عرشه مرقد مبارک او   بر زمین کار عرش اعلی کرد
(۷) عرش در پاے چار قایمه اش   چار تکبیر بے محابا کرد
(۸) هر که رخ از مقام او تا بید   پشت بر کعبه معلی کرد
(۹) و آنکه رو در سجود او آورد   رخ چو آئینه مصفا کرد
(۱۰) خاک روب مقامش او باشی   میتوان کار صد مسیحا کرد
(۱۱) سال تاریخ این بنا جستم   قبه شیخ عقل القا کرد
(۱۲) قدر باني او رفیع کناد   آنکه این هفت سقف خضرا کرد

Translation.

(1) " For the Shaikh of Dehlī (named) Nizām (u-d Din), two Farīds made ready all (that is required) in this world and in the next.

(2) One Farīd gave him a transitory building, the other raised him to the position of everlasting life.

(3) Murtaza Khān over his grave erected a dome (lofty) as the sky.

(4) A blue cloud rose from the world, and a union dropped into the oyster shell.

(5) On the earth his square tomb threw wide its four doors (for worship) in all its four sides.

(6) The roof of the sacred tomb did the work of the high firmament on the earth.

[1] In the conventical language of mystics, the name Ghauth or Qutb is applied to the hierarch of the saints, who is supposed to be pre-eminently endowed with sanctity and with miraculous faculties. At his death his place is believed to be filled by another Ghauth.

[2] A place towards which Muslims look during prayer, hence the most sanctified place.

(7) The sky on its four firm pillars repeated spontaneously the *takbīr* four times (*i.e.*, expressed wonder).
(8) He who turned his face away from his place (grave) turned his back on the great Ka'ba.
(9) And he who bowed his head to him made his face bright like a mirror.
(10) Should you serve as sweeper of his place (grave) you are capable of the work of a hundred Messiahs.
(11) I searched for the date of this fabric, wisdom gave as inspiration—' The dome of the Shaikh ' (1017 A.H.=1608-9 A.D.).
(12) May he who built these seven green ceilings (heavens) increase the honour of the builder."

Khalīl-ullah Khān, entitled ' Umdatu-l Mulk, who was governor of Dehlī during the reign of Shāhjahān, built in the year 1063 A.H. (1652-3 A.D.) the verandah round the tomb,[1] the material being marble and red sandstone. The inscription on the second and fourth arches of the verandah towards the south referring to its erection and date runs as follows :—

در عهد اعليحضرت صاحبقران ثاني احقر العباد خليل الله خان ابن مير ميران الحسيني
نعمت اللهي كه حاكم شاهجهان آباد بود في سنه ۱۰۶۳ اين ايوان را بر دور روضه متبركه مرتب نمود

Translation.

" In the reign of his exalted Majesty Ṣāḥib Qirān Thānī (the second Lord of happy conjunction, *i.e.*, Shāhjahān) the most humble of men (named) Khalīl-ullah Khān son of Mīr Mīrān Alhusainī Ni'matullāhī, who was the governor of Shāhjahānābād, erected this verandah round the blessed tomb in the year 1063 (1652-53 A.D.)."

In the year 1169 A.H. (1755-56 A.D.) 'Ālamgīr II put up the tablet bearing the following inscription, and possibly carried out other repairs and additions as well.

يا عزيز

(۱) جو هوے خادم نظام الدين كا دلسيں اے غريب — اوسكے تئيں هوتا هى تاج خسروى جگميں نصيب
(۲) خادمي كي تهى عزيز الدين نے بالصدق و يقين — تاج شاهي هند كا مجهكو ديا هى عنقريب
(۳) مرض دل افگار ميرے كا وه صحت بخش هى — بے غذاؤ بے دعاؤ بے دواؤ بے طبيب
(۴) بس پريشان حال هى اب خلق پر محبوب حق — فضل كر تقصير وارونپر تم هو حق كے حبيب

باهتمام هوشيار علي خان غلام محلى سنه ۱۱۶۹

Translation.

(1) " He, who becomes the slave of Niẓāmu-d Dīn with his heart, receives the royal crown of the whole world.
(2) 'Azīzu-d Dīn (known as 'Ālamgīr II) performed the services of a slave with true faith ; the kingly crown of Hind (India) has now been given me ('Azīzu-d Dīn).
(3) Through him is healed my wounded heart without recourse to food, prayer, medicine or physician.

[1] *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 238 (*b*) ; *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, pp. 30-1.

(4) Much afflicted are the people now, O beloved of God (Niẓāmu-d Dīn) ; confer favour on sinners, as you are a friend of God.

Under the supervision of Hoshyār 'Alī Khān the eunuch slave. The year 1169 (1755-6 A.D)."

The language of this inscription which is old Urdu deserves special notice.

In 1223 A.H. (1808-9 A.D.) Nawāb Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān of Fīrozpur replaced the red sandstone pillars of the verandah by others of marble,[1] and the curious parapet with its line of miniature domes is apparently of the same date. In the year 1236 A.H. (1820-21 A.D.) Faizullah Khān Bangash added the copper ceiling, ornamented with blue enamel, to the verandah.[2] The dome, as it now stands, was rebuilt by Akbar Shah II in 1239 A.H. (1823-4 A.D). In the year 1300 A.H. (1882-3 A.D.) Khurshīd Jāh of Hyderabad erected around the grave a marble balustrade engraved with the following inscription :—

گذرانیده غلامان غلام فدوي محی الدین بهادر شمس الامرا امیر کبیر خورشید جاه بست و یکم

ماه صفر المظفر سنه ۱۳۰۰ هجري

Translation.

" Offered by the slave of slaves and the devoted servant (named) Muḥaīyu-d Dīn Bahādur Shamsu-l Umarā Amīr Kabīr Khurshīd Jāh, on the 21st of the month of Safar the victorious, the year 1300 Hijra (1882-83 A.D.)."

Jamā'at Khāna. The mosque known as Jamā'at Khāna (Congregation House), which forms the western side of the enclosure is the oldest monument at the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn. The account of its building, as given in several historical works, is contradictory, and it is hardly possible to say anything with certainty about the date of its erection or its founder. According to Farishta it was built by prince Khizr Khān, the heir-apparent of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī and a disciple of the saint.[3] Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, quoting the same authority, says that it was only the central compartment which was built by that prince, while the two side ones were added by the emperor Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq on his accession to the throne.[4] On the other hand the author of Thamāratu-l Quds states that the saint built this mosque himself in a period of 30 years.[5] The same author also says " Two marble slabs very clean and bright, are placed near the *miḥrāb* instead of *muṣallah* (prayer carpet), and the Shaikh is known to have offered his prayer on them and said 'Whosoever will say prayer after me on these two slabs of stone, God shall hear him and immediately fulfil his desires.'[6] . A marble slab still lies fixed on the floor before the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque, but this story is not known to any of the attendants of the shrine. Fīroz Shāh claims that he constructed this building when he decorated the tomb of the saint. He says " I erected a new building of Jamā'at Khāna, like which there was none at that place (at the shrine of Shaikh

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[1] *Shajaratu-l Anwār*, folio 238 (*b*) ; *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 31.

[2] *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd*, (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 31.

[3] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 394.

[4] *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Lucknow 1900), chapter I, p. 38.

[5] *Thamaratu-l Quds*, folio 264 (*a*).

[6] *Ibid*, folio 264 (*b*).

Niẓāmu-d Dīn) before."[1] It was extensively repaired by the emperor Akbar, and an account of these repairs is recorded in Th͟hamarātu-l Quds as follows :—

"And the mosque which stands in the vicinity of the tomb was built by him, (S͟haikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn) during his lifetime in a period of thirty years as has been already related, but its stone was not dressed nicely. About the year 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.) a royal order was issued, and in a short time skilful masons, having dexterously cut the upper surface of the stone to the depth of two fingers, dressed it clean and gave it a pleasing finish. Many grand and big mosques are also to be found in other countries such as Kābul, G͟haznī, Gujrāt, Dakhan, Kas͟hmīr and Mālwa, but none of them stands equal to it in beauty and elegance. Travellers and traders, who come over here after visiting various countries, admit the failings in the architecture of other mosques, and declare that they have seen no mosque so pleasing and beautiful as this."[2]

The building constructed of red sandstone is a fine specimen of the *Pathan* style of architecture. It contains three compartments measuring 95′ 9″ north to south by 56′ 6″ east to west. The main central compartment, 38′ 6″ square internally, is crowned by a low dome rising from a polygonal battlemented drum, while each of the side ones measures 53′ by 19′ and is covered by twin domes. These domes, which are coated with plaster and whitewashed, are surmounted with marble pinnacles. The eastern façade (Plate IV, *a*), crowned with a row of spearhead battlements, is broken by three arches, which are ornamented with cusped soffits and Qurānic inscriptions. The side arches are closed by latticed stone screens 6′ 6″ high each pierced at the centre by a doorway, which gives access to the interior. The central bay projects a little from the main face of the building, and is embellished with bands of geometric carvings and Qurānic inscriptions, which enclose the arch. Recessed from this latter again is an arch, containing a doorway which gives access to the central compartment, and the upper portion of which above the doorway is closed by a latticed screen. On either side of this entrance is a latticed window ornamented with inscriptions from the Qurān, which are also found around the internal arches and *miḥrābs*. In the west wall there are three *miḥrāb* recesses, between the central and northern ones of which stands a red sandstone *mimbar* reached by two steps. The recessed arched pendentives (Plate IV, *b*) ornamented with cuspings and Qurānic inscriptions are of special interest and have been described by Mr. Beglar as "the most beautiful in Delhi."[3] From the centre of the dome, which is lined with red sandstone, hangs an inverted cup said to be of gold, which the *Jāts* are said to have tried in vain to shoot down.[4]

The Persian inscription engraved on the east *façade* between the central and the southern arches does not make any reference to the building, but contains only the chronogram of the death of the saint. It runs as follows :—

(۱) نظام دو گیتی شه ملک وطین سراج دو عالم شده بالیقین

(۲) چو تاریخ فوتش بجستم زغیب ندا داد هاتف شهنشاه دین

[1] *Fatūḥat-i Fīroz s͟hāhī*, 10 (*b*).
[2] *Th͟hamarātu-l Quds*, folio 264 (*a*).
[3] A. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 75.
[4] *Āth͟āru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Lucknow 1900), chapter I, p. 38 ; *Seven Cities of Delhi*, p. 59.

Translation.

(1) " The administrator (Nizām) of two worlds, the king of water and earth surely became a lamp for both the worlds.

(2) When I sought the date of his death, the praiser cried out from the invisible ' the emperor of religion ' (725 A.H.=1325 A.D)."

Majlis Khāna.

The Jamā'at Khāna must not be confounded with Majlis Khāna (Assembly house), which is an uninteresting building of the Mughal period to the north. It measures some 32′ by 25′ internally, and consists of a *dālān*, two bays deep with three arched entrances on the south.

Tomb of Jahānārā.

To the south of the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, inside the enclosure of his shrine, are three marble tombs containing the graves of the members of the royal Mughal family. The westernmost one, adjacent to the south wing of the Jamā'at Khāna, is that of Jahānārā (Plate V. *a*) built by that princess during her lifetime.[1] It is an enclosure open to the sky and measuring 13′ 9″ by 11′ 6″ externally. The enclosing walls, which consist of pierced marble screens 8′ in height, stand on a plinth 1′ 1″ high, and contain three bays on each of the four sides, the entrance occupying the central bay on the west. They are crowned by a parapet, perforated and carved with a floral design, while the four angles of the enclosure as well as the entrance are marked by slender marble pinnacles rising 4′ 10″ above the walls. The decorative parapet had been much damaged, but it was restored by the Archæological Department in the year 1904.[2] Inside, the enclosure is paved with marble and contains four marble graves, the central one being that of Jahānārā. It is simple and of the usual shape with a shallow depression on the upper surface, in which grass is growing, and at the northern end stands a headstone, consisting of a marble slab 6′ 7″ by 1′ 10½″ (Plate VI. *a*) which bears the following inscription, written, it is said, by the princess herself :—

هوالحي القيوم

بغير سبزه نپوشد کسے مزار مرا که قبر پوش غریبان همین گیاه بس است

الفقيره الفانيه جهان آرا مريد خواجگان چشت بنت شاه جهان پادشاه غازي انارالله برهانه

سنه ۱۰۹۲

Translation.

" He is living and everlasting.

Let naught cover my grave save the green grass, for grass well suffices as a covering for the grave of the lowly.

The humble and mortal Jahānārā, the disciple of the Khūājas (preceptors) of Chisht, and the daughter of Shāhjahān the king and champion of faith, may God illuminate his demonstrations. The year 1092 (1681 A.D.)."

The inlay work on the headstone had been much mutilated, and the following extract from the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, referring to its restoration, will be of special interest here :—

" The decoration of this headstone had suffered much at the hands of visitors to the tomb. Originally the letters of the inscription were inlaid in black marble,

[1] *Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh*, p. 248 ; *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 74.

[2] *Annual Progress Report*, 1903-4, p. 13 and appendix III : 1904-5, p. 40.

with a foliated border of coloured stones around ; but almost all the tassellated pieces had been sacrilegiously picked out, and the adjoining surface of the white marble ground had been much chipped in the process. Of the coloured stones—agate, jasper, and malachite—it was fortunate that some small fragments still adhered in their places ; enough to make the restoration certain in every particular."[1]

To the east of Jahānārā's grave is that of Mirzā Nīlī, the son of the emperor Shāh 'Alam II, while to its west that of Jamālu-n Nisā, the daughter of Akbar II, the small grave at the foot of the last being of that lady's child.

Jahānārā, the daughter of Shāhjahān and Mumtāz Maḥall, was born on the 21st Ṣafar 1023 A.H. (2nd April 1614 A.D.). She was first given the title of Begam Ṣāhib,[2] and then of Bādshāh Begam,[3] and for a long time was the principal personage in the Royal Harem. She was a most amiable and accomplished princess, famous for her virtues, and the foundress of many charitable institutions, such as mosques and serais, the most important of which was the Jāmi' mosque at Agra.[4] A magnificent caravansarai known after her as Begam's Serai was built by the princess in Dehlī at Chāndn Chauk near her gardens, which have been renamed as Queen's Gardens. The building has been greatly praised by Bernier[5] and also by Manucci,[6] from whom the following is quoted : " This princess (Jahānārā) to preserve her memory, gave orders for the construction of a *sarāe* in the square, which is between the fortress and the city. This is the most beautiful *sarāe* in Hindustān, with upper chambers adorned with many paintings, and it has a lovely garden, in which are ornamented reservoirs. In this *sarāe* there put up none but great Mogul and Persian merchants. The king went to view the work that had been done for his beloved Begom Saeb (Begam Ṣāhib), and he praised her energy and liberality." The serai is no longer extant, but from an old map of Shāhjahānābād in the Delhī Museum of Archaeology[7] we find that it stood at the place now occupied by the Town hall and the Municipal office buildings.

Jahānārā is also famous for her literary pursuits. Her favourite study was religion specially Sufism, and she was the authoress of a treatise entitled *Mūnisu-l-Arwāh*, which contains the biography of Khūāja Mu'īnu-d Dīn of Ajmer, with brief notices on his chief disciples, the Chishtī saints, for whom she had great respect, as is also evident from her epitaph composed by herself. An incident in her life is related in connection with the establishment and growth of the British power in India. On the night of the 27th Muḥarram 1054 A.H. (5th April 1644 A.D.), as she was returning from her father's apartments to the harem, her garments caught fire from a lamp, and she was severely burnt. For some time no hopes were entertained of her recovery, but an English physician named Gabriel Boughton, who was then at Sūrat, was called in and restored her to health. Boughton, in reward for his services, was granted a patent enabling his countrymen to trade free throughout Shāhjahān's dominions.[8] On the

1 *Annual*, 1902-3, p. 28.
2 *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 391.
3 *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 396.
4 *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 52 ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 19[illegible].
5 *Bernier*, p. 281.
6 *Manucci*, Vol. I, p. 221.
7 *Catalogue*, p. 44, K. 2.
8 *Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh*, pp. 247-8 ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 189-90.

deposition of her father Jahānārā voluntarily shared his imprisonment in the fort of Agra and did much to console him in his adversity. She survived him for sixteen years dying on the 3rd Ramāzan 1092 A.H. (16th September 1681 A.D.).

Tomb of Muḥammad Shāh.

Contiguous with the tomb of Jahānārā, to the east, is that of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh (Plate VII, *a*), who was the last of the line of Tīmūr to enjoy any semblance of power. He was born on the 24th Rabī'a I, 1114 A.H. (18th August 1702 A.D.) and crowned at Fatḥpur on the 15th of Zīqa'da 1131 A.H. (30th September 1719 A.D.).[1] The greatest event of his reign was the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh in the year 1151 A.H. (1739 A.D.), and the massacre of Delhī, which followed, is still remembered with horror as the greatest calamity that had ever befallen the imperial city. Muḥammad Shāh survived this disaster for eight years, and died on the 27th Rabī'a II, 1161 A.H. (26th April 1748 A.D.).[2]

The tomb of Muḥammad Shāh is set in a marble enclosure similar to that of Jahānārā. It measures 21′ 4″ by 15′ 10″ externally and is entered through a doorway on the east. The enclosing walls, which are composed of pierced marble screens 7′ 2″ high, contain five bays on the east and west and three on the north and south sides, and stand on an ornamented plinth 1′ 2″ in height. The four corners of the enclosure are marked with pinnacles, which also flank the doorway and central bay opposite to it on the west. The *guldastas*, at the top of these pinnacles, have now mostly disappeared. The arch head of the entrance is scolloped, and the spandrels are adorned with a floral pattern in low relief. The door, which is of marble in two leaves, is embellished with a floral design set in panels, three on each leaf of the door. The enclosure, paved with marble, contains several uninscribed graves of the same material, the largest which stands in the centre, being that of the emperor. The one immediately to the west is that of his wife Ṣāḥiba Mahall, while at the foot of the last is that of the wife of Nādir Shāh's son. The grave to the west of the latter is of the lady's infant daughter, and east of it lies Mirzā Jigrū, the grandson of Muḥammad Shāh, and further to the east of this again Mirzā 'Āshurī. The grave in the north-east corner is a nameless one.

Tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr.

Further east of the tomb of Muḥammad Shāh is that of Mirzā Jahāngīr (Plate VII, *b*), the eldest son of the emperor Akbar II. He was a frivolous young man and often caused much annoyance to the emperor, who consequently ordered Mr. Seton to arrest and send him as a prisoner to the fort of Allahabad. Mr. Seton posted British soldiers at various places in the fort of Shāhjahānābād, and took the prince under surveillance in the month of Sha'bān of the year 1224 A.H. (1809 A.D.). A few days after, he was escorted together with a few attendants of the seraglio to Allahabad fort, and was granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 500.[3] Beale says that Mirzā Jahāngīr was sent to Allahabad by the English, in consequence of having fired a pistol at Mr. Seton, the Resident at Shāhjahānābād, and adds that the prince resided at Khusrau Bāgh for several years until his death in 1236 A.H. (1821 A.D.). He was first interred in the same garden, but subsequently his remains were brought to Delhī.[4]

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[1] *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, Vol IV, p. 840 ; *Elliot*, Vol. VII, p. 485.
[2] *Elliot*, Vol, VIII, p. 111.
[3] *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, Vol. II, folio 112 (*a*).
[4] *Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh*, p. 379 ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 191.

The tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr, which was built by his mother Nawāb Mumtāz Maḥall,[1] consists of a marble enclosure measuring some 19′ 6″ by 14′ internally. It is raised 3′ 3″ from the floor of the courtyard of the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, and is reached by a flight of four marble steps. Two doorways on the east and west give entrance to the building, that on the west being provided with marble leaves carved in floral patterns. The corners of the enclosure are surmounted by marble *guldastas*, which also flank the doorways. The enclosure, which is paved with marble, contains four graves of the same material. The grave of Mirzā Jahāngīr, which lies in the centre, is profusely ornamented with floral carvings, and it may be noticed that it bears a *takhtī* the emblem of a woman's grave. It is said that the grave stone originally belonged to a woman's grave, but was placed over the remains of the prince on a dispensation being granted for the purpose by Muslim lawyers. The second grave lying to the west is that of Mirzā Bābar, the brother of Mirzā Jahāngīr. It also was not originally intended for its present position. The inscription which it bears refers to one Mīr Muḥammad, with the chronogram giving the date 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.). The inscription runs as follows :— **Grave of Mirzā Bābar.**

(۱) آن سید عالي نسب معدن جود — وان بحر کرم کز و جهان ... انبود
(۲) فرزند علی میر محمد نامش — چون میر محمد از جهان نقل نمود
(۳) تاریخ وفاتش زخرد پرسیدم — گلزار بهشت جائے بادا فردوں

Translation.

(1) "That Sayyid of high lineage, the mine of benificence, and that sea of generosity from which the world gathered...,

(2) Is a descendant of 'Alī having Mīr Muḥammad for his name. When Mīr Muḥammad departed from the world,

(3) I asked wisdom the date of his death, it said 'May the garden of paradise be (his) place.'"

The remaining two graves are insignificant, but it seems almost certain that they are of the members of the royal family.

House of Mirzā Jahāngīr. The building immediately to the east of the tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr is locally known as the house of that prince. It consists of a central open courtyard with two arched *dālāns* on the north and south, and is entered by a gateway on the east. In the *dālāns* and courtyard are several graves the one in the north *dālān* being that of Mirzā Bābar's wife. It is of marble and bears the following inscription on its head stone :— **Grave of Mirzā Bābar's wife.**

(۱) دریغا زوجه بابر بهادر — یکایك زین جهان بیوفا رفت
(۲) بحکم صاحب عالم زسالش — بقا گفته که در دار البقا رفت
سنه ۱۲۴۴

Translation.

(1) "Alas, the wife of Bābar Bahādur, repaired suddenly from this faithless world.

(2) By order of Ṣāhib-i 'Ālam,[2] about the date of her death, Baqa said, 'She went to the everlasting world.'

The year 1244 A.H. (1828-9 A.D.)."

[1] *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 100.

[2] *Ṣāhib-i-Ālam* was a general title of Mughal princes. It is still borne by the descendants of the ex-royal Mughal family residing at Delhi.

Grave of 'Khuāja 'Abdu-r Raḥmān.

The grave of Khuāja 'Abdu-r Raḥmān lies in the courtyard of the house of Mirzā Jahāngīr, and the chief point of interest in it is that it is not aligned north to south according to the practice strictly observed by *Musalmāns*. The deceased was a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, and the local tradition says that he expressed his desire to be buried in such a direction that his face might remain towards the tomb of the saint.

An open court to the east of the enclosure of Niẓāmu-d Dīn.

The eastern wall of the enclosure of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, opposite to his tomb, is pierced by two small arched doorways, which give access to an open court containing several graves, two of them being inscribed. One of the doorways which lies to the south bears on the top a marble slab engraved on either face with an inscription referring to the death of one Mirzā Muqīm.

Inscriptions on the southern doorway of the court.

Inscription on the western face of the marble slab :—

(۱) انها که بکوی قرب جا یافته اند   کام دل خود بمدعا یافته اند
(۲) این مرتبه دانی ز کجا یافته اند   از شیخ نظام اولیا یافته اند

قایله میر نویدی نیشاپوری

Translation.

(1) " Those, who have procured a place in the neighbourhood, have obtained the object of their heart according to their wishes.

(2) Do you know wherefrom they have obtained this position ? They have got it from Shaikh Niẓām Aulīyā.

Composed by Mīr Nawaidī of Naishāpur."

On the eastern face of the slab :—

(۱) فرزند مقیم بنده حی قدیم   جا کرد درین روضه پر فیض و نعیم
(۲) اورا نبود ز حشر اندیشه و بیم   چون ساکن فردوس برین گشت مقیم

قایله نویدی کاتبه حسین نقشبی

Translation.

(1) " The son Muqīm, the slave of the living and immortal, took his seat in this tomb, which is full of grace and tranquillity.

(2) He will have no anxiety or fear on the day of resurrection, when he became the resident of the high paradise.

Composed by Nawaidī and written by Husain Naqshabī."

Grave of Mirzā Muqīm.

The grave of Mirzā Muqīm, which is of marble, lies inside the court facing the inscribed doorway. It is engraved with the following verse which contains his name and the date of his death :—

از جهان میرزا مقیم چو رفت   نهصد و شصت و هفت بد تاریخ

Translation.

" When Mirzā Muqīm departed from the world, the date was 967 (1559-60 A.D)."

Grave of Abul Fazāil.

Beside the grave of Mirzā Muqīm, to the east, is that of one Abul Fazāil, who is recorded in the inscription it bears to have been born at Kābul and died at Delhī, in the year 968 A.H. (1560-61 A.D.). The grave of Abul Fazāil also is of marble and the inscription engraved on it reads as follows :—

(۱) افسوس که شد نهان بشهر دهلی   ماهی که محل طالعش کابل شد
(۲) آن تازه نهال گلشن حسن و جمال   بگذاشت جهان و بالکل فانی شد
(۳) تاریخ وفات آن گل آمد از غیب   برباد ز گلشن مراد آن گل شد

وفات ابو الفضایل بن سید مراد در سنه ۹۶۸

Translation.

(1) "Alas! that the moon, whose rising place was Kābul, is concealed in the city of Dehlī.

(2) That young plant of the garden of beauty and elegance left the world and became mortal.

(3) The date of the death of that rose was known from the invisible 'That rose is destroyed from the garden of Murād.'

Death of Abul Fazāil son of Sayyid Murād in the year 968 (1560-61 A.D.)."

Enclosure of Amir Khusrau. Beyond the south wall of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn's enclosure there is another enclosure, which contains the tomb of Amīr Khusrau, the renowned Persian poet of India and a favourite disciple of the saint. It is surrounded on the south and east by arched compartments mostly occupied by the attendants of the shrine, and on the west by a brick masonry wall. The precinct of Amīr Khusrau, which measures some 103′ east to west by 56′ north to south, is paved with red sandstone slabs, and is strewn with a large number of graves, some of which are inscribed and dated. It is connected with the enclosure of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn on the north by an arched doorway, which, according to an inscription fixed on it, was erected by one Jawāhar in the time of 'Alamgīr II. The inscription was covered by coats of whitewash, repeated annually on the doorway and enclosure walls on the occasion of the anniversary of the saint. It is written inlaid in black letters on a white marble slab and runs as follows :—

Northern doorway.

يا عزيز

(۱) بدور سعد ابو العدل شاه عالمگیر   بنای ساخت جواهر دری برای ثواب

۴

(۲) بهوشیار علیخان چه مژده هاتف داد   کشاد باب کریم مفتح الابواب

بچگانه محلدار خانمرحوم   سنه ۱۱۷۱

Translation.

O Glorious!

(1) "During the auspicious reign of the father of justice, the king 'Ālamgīr, Jawāhar erected the door (as a religious work) for reward.

(2) How joyful the tidings which the invisible crier gave to Hoshyār 'Alī Khān 'The generous opener of doors opened the door.' 4th (regnal year of 'Alamgīr II). The year 1171 (1757-58 A.D.). The children of Mahaldār Khān the deceased."

Eastern gateway. The main entrance to Amīr Khusrau's enclosure is through a gateway on the east (Plate V, *b*) which was rebuilt by the wish of His Highness the Niẓām of Hyderabad in the year 1298 A.H. (1881 A.D.). An inscription on the outer arch of the gateway, referring to its erection, runs as follows :—

(۱) بدرگاه محبوب رب مجیب   بناگشت دروازه فتح قریب

(۲) بحکم نظام خدیو دکن   بسعی محمد رشید لبیب

(۳) بامداد هاشم حسینی لقب   شد اتمام بے دخل و عیب رقیب

۱۲۹۸

(۴) چو سال بنایش بجستم زغیب   ندا داد هاتف عجایب غریب

Translation.

(1) "At the *dargāh* (tomb) of the beloved of God who listens (to the prayers of the faithful), this gate was built which has victory near it.

(2) By the order of the Niẓām, the king of the Deccan, by the efforts of Muhammad Rashīd, the prudent.

(3) And by the assistance of Hāshim, entitled Ḥusainī, it was completed without the intrusion or ill-will of a rival.

(4) When I enquired of the invisible the date of its erection, the invisible crier said 'Rare beyond measure.' 1298 (1881 A.D.)."

The west wall of the enclosure is also pierced by a doorway, but it is mainly for the use of the people residing immediately to the south and west of the shrine.

Tomb of Amīr Khusrau.

The tomb of Amīr Khusrau (Plate VIII, *a*) lies in a small enclosure 28′ 6″ by 20′ 7″ surrounded by red sandstone walls of lattice work. The enclosure, paved with marble, is entered through a doorway on the south, where it is partly roofed with stone slabs. The tomb chamber, which is oblong in plan, measures 16′ 2″ by 12′ 6″ externally, and is constructed of marble. It is covered by a vaulted roof, supported on 12 pillars and crowned by two *guldastas*, one at either end on the north and south. The space between these pillars is closed by latticed screens, the central bay on the south being open and serving as an entrance to the tomb. Outside the tomb chamber, to the north, stands an inscribed marble slab 7′ 11″ by 1′ 6½″ set up during the reign of the emperor Bābar, while on the south lies an uninscribed and unplastered grave said to be that of Shamsu-d Dīn Māhru, the son of Amīr Khusrau's sister. The marble grave of Khusrau in the centre of the building is enclosed by a marble balustrade. It is ever kept covered by a pall, and a cotton canopy hangs over it, tied with ropes to the four corners of the chamber.

The tomb of Amīr Khusrau, like that of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, has been added to at different times. It was the desire of the Shaikh that Khusrau should be buried beside him, but on the demise of the latter this was objected to. The following account of his burial, quoted from Thamarātu-l Quds, will be read with interest.

"When Khusrau died it was intended to bury him by the side of the Shaikh's grave. But one of the members of the royal family[1] (یکی از ابنای ملوک), who had great influence, objected to this, saying that in future it would cause difficulty for the people to distinguish the grave of the Shaikh from that of Khusrau. His real motive, however, was that he had built a dome for his burial near the tomb of the saint, and he did not like that any one might be interred between the two buildings. On account of this, Khusrau was buried at the place where his grave now lies. The man, who had raised the objection, was deputed on some business by the emperor (apparently Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq) to Deogīr, where he died. The dome built by him became an abode of bats and mendicants, until the emperor Humāyūn, who came on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, passed through that dome, and on account of its filthy condition ordered its demolition."[2]

No building is known to have been erected at the grave of Amīr Khusrau until the reign of the emperor Bābar, when the inscribed marble tablet, mentioned above, was put up at its head. The inscription on this tablet also refers to the erection of a structure by Mahdī Khuāja, but gives no particulars as to its character. Carr Stephen and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, however, state that it was only the enclosing wall which was

[1] Farishta (pt. II, p. 403) says that the man who raised this objection was a eunuch holding the post of prime minister.

[2] *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 289 (*a*) and (*b*).

constructed by Mahdī Khūāja.[1] The inscription which contains several verses runs as follows :—

لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله

زمین را ازین لوح شد سرفرازي بدوران بابر شهنشاه غازی

Translation.

"There is no God but Allāh, and Muḥammad is his prophet.

The earth was honoured by this tablet in the reign of Bābar the emperor and champion of faith."

(۱) میر خسرو خسرو ملك سخن — آن محیط فضل و دریاي کمال

(۲) نثر او دلکش تر از ماء معین — نظم او صافي تر از آب زلال

(۳) بلبل دستان سرای بیقرین — طوطی شکر مقال و بے مثال

(۴) از پئی تاریخ سال فوت او — چون نهادم سر بزانوي خیال

(۵) شد عدیم المثل یك تاریخ او — دیگرے شد طوطي شکر مقال

Translation.

(1) "Mīr Khusrau, the king of the kingdom of words (poetry), the ocean of accomplishment and sea of perfection.

(2) His prose is more attractive than flowing water, his poetry is clearer than limpid water.

(3) (He is) a peerless singing nightingale and an unparalleled sugar-tongued parrot.

(4) For the date of his death, when I bowed my head above the knees of thought,

(5) A chronogram occurred 'peerless' and another 'Sugar-tongued parrot.'"
(725 A.H.=1325 A.D.)

ز حرف وصل جانان ساده آمد لوح خاک من — طریق ساده لوحی بس نشان عشق پاک من

Translation.

"The tablet of my dust is without even a word of hopes of a meeting with my beloved, simplicity is the only sign of my true love."

(۱) مهدی خواجه سید با جاه و جلال — شد بانی این اساس بے شبه و مثال

(۲) گفتم سعي جمیل مهدي خواجه — تاریخ بنائے این چو کردند سوال

حرره شهاب المعماي الهروي

Translation.

(1) "Mahdī Khūāja, a Sayyid of rank and dignity, became the founder of this matchless and incomparable building.

(2) I said 'the good efforts of Mahdī Khūāja,' when they enquired of me the date of the foundation of this building.

It is written by Shihāb the enigmatist of Hirāt."

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[1] *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), p. 58 ; *Carr Stephen*, p. 115.

The chronogram in the last verse does not reconcile with the other facts stated in the inscription. It places the erection of the building by Mahdī Khūāja in the year 897 A.H. (1491-2 A.D.) when Sikandar Shāh Lodī was on the throne of Delhi. Now Mahdī Khūāja was a brother-in-law of the emperor Bābar,[1] and he is not known to have come to India before the conquest of that country by Bābar in the year 932 A.H. (1526 A.D.). Niẓāmu-d Dīn Aḥmad, the author of Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, describes the Khūāja as a generous and liberal young man, and he speaks of a conspiracy made by Amīr Niẓāmu-d Dīn 'Alī Khalīfa, the prime minister, at the time of Bābar's death to raise him to the throne in place of Humāyun.[2] Moreover Shihābu-d Dīn of Hirāt, the scribe of the inscription, came to India with the historian Khund Mīr in the year 934 A.H. (1528 A.D.) and was introduced to Bābar in the beginning of 935 A.H. (September 1528 A.D.). These facts supported by the internal evidence of the inscription itself, the first verse of which refers to the erection of the tablet during the reign of the emperor Bābar, leaves no doubt that the building by Mahdī Khūāja was also constructed about the same time. The value of the chronogram apparently requires some addition to give the exact date, and similar instances are not uncommon in Persian chronograms, when the required dates are obtained by making an addition to or subtraction from their values, which operations are technically styled as *Ta'mīya-i Dākhila* and *Ta'mīya-i Khārija* respectively.

During the reign of the emperor Humāyūn in the year 938 A.H. (1531-2 A.D.) the inner enclosure was built and paved with marble, and a marble tombstone was placed over the grave.[3] It was probably at this time that Humāyūn ordered the removal of the dome in order to improve the site.[4] An inscription of this emperor dated 938 A.H. is to be found on the north and west walls of the enclosure. It, however, does not refer to the erection of any building.

(۱) شه ملک سخن خسرو سرو سالار درویشان — که نامش هست برلوح جهان چونقش درخارا
(۲) چنان درصورت خوبی سخن‌پرداز شد طبعش — که زیبی داد ازان صورت بخوبی لوح معنی را
(۳) شد اوغواص دریای تفکر وز محیط فضل — برون آورد در هاے معانی را ازان دریا
(۴) بسال پنج پنج و هفتصد از هجرت حضرت — ز دارالملک دنیا کرد رحلت جانب عقبا

عاقبت بخیر باد

(۵) بتقدیر الهی مرغ روحش سدره ماوا شد — نداے ارجعی چون در رسید از عالم بالا
(۶) گذشته بود سی و هشت و نهصد سال از هجرت — بدوران همایون پادشاه غازی دانا
(۷) شهنشاهے که می شاید اگر کرو بیان دایم — دعاے دولتش گویند نزد ربی الاعلی
(۸) رفیع القدر صاحب دولتے پا کے که در عالم — نبوده ست و نبا شد مثل او بے مثل و بے همتا
(۹) خدایا تاجهان باشد بدولت باشد و بادش — خداوند جهان یار و معین و ناصرالاعدا

Translation.

(1) "Khusrau the king of the kingdom of words and the head and chief of saints; whose name is (engraved) on the tablet of world like the mark on hard stone.

[1] *Humāyun Nāmah*, appendix B, p. 298 *seq.*
[2] *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, pp. 193-4, see also *Elliot*, vol. V, pp. 187-8, and *Khulaṣatu-t Tawārīkh*, pp. 96-7.
[3] *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 29 (*b*).
[4] *Supra* p. 22.

(2) He (lit. his intellect) composed verses in such an elegant style that the tablet of meaning was adorned with it.

(3) He dived into the sea of reflection and by the grace (of God) brought out the pearls of expression from it.

(4) In the year five times five (25) and seven hundred from the flight of His Holiness (Prophet) he departed from this world to the next.

May his end be good.

(5) By the divine decree Sidra (a tree in paradise) became the residence of the bird of his soul, when the call '*Irjaʿī*'[1] (turn to me) reached him from the high world.

(6) Nine hundred and thirty eight-years had passed from Hijrat to the reign of Humāyūn, the king and champion of faith, and the wise,

(7) An emperor, so worthy, that the angels might well ever pray for his prosperity to the great God,

(8) Of high rank, wealthy, and pure, like whom there has never been nor ever will be one so peerless or matchless.

(9) O God! as long as the world exists may he ever remain in prosperity, and may the Lord of the world be his friend, helper and defender against his enemies."

In the year 969 A.H. (1561-2 A.D.) Shihābu-d Dīn Aḥmad Khān one of the grandees of the court of the emperor Akbar erected a dome with latticed walls of red sandstone over the grave.[2] The present tomb was built during the reign of the emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1014 A.H. (1605-6 A.D.) by Khuāja 'Imādu-d Dīn Ḥasan, and an inscription consisting of various verses in praise of Amīr Khusrau and containing the name of the founder and the date, is engraved in one line running on the four walls at their top inside the building. There is also an inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr written on a marble tablet which is fixed on the northern wall. These inscriptions are copied below in the same order as they are found on the tomb.

On the east wall.

(۱) اے خسرو بے نظیر عالم　　با روضه تو مرا نیاز است

(۲) تعمیر نمود طاهر انرا　　فیض ازلی همیشه باز است

(۳) تاریخ بناش عقل گفته　　با روضه بگوکه جاے راز است

Translation.

(1) "O! Khusrau, peerless in the world, I am a supplicant at thy tomb.

(2) It has been built by Ṭāhir; eternal blessing is always found here.

(3) Wisdom thus spake the date of its foundation, 'say to the tomb that it is a place of secrets.'"

On the north wall.

قایل این کلام و بانی این مقام طاهر محمد عمادالدین حسن ابن سلطان علی سبزواري هجري في سنه ۱۰۱۴ غفرالله ذنوبه و ستر عیوبه الکاتب عبدالنبی ابن ایوب

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[1] This refers to the verse 28 of Sura LXXXIX of the Qurān, which is as follows ارجعي الی ربك راضیة مرضیة (Return to thy Lord well pleased and well pleasing).

[2] *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 291 (*b*).

Translation.

" The composer of these lines and founder of this building is Ṭāhir Muḥammad ʻImādu-d Dīn Ḥasan son of Sulṭān ʻAlī Sabzwārī, in the year 1014 Hijra (1605-6 A.D.), may God forgive his sins and conceal his faults. The scribe ʻAbdu-n Nabī son of Aīyūb."

On the west wall.

(۱) اے شربت عاشقی بجامت	و ز دوست زمان زمان پیامت
(۲) شد سلك فرید از تو منظوم	زا نست که شد لقب نظامت
(۳) جاوید بقاست بنده خسرو	چون شد بهزار جان غلامت

Translation.

(1) " O thou ! who hast the sweet drink of love in thy cup and receivest messages constantly from the friend.

(2) The house of Farīd is ordered by thee, hence is it that thou art entitled Niẓām.

(3) Immortal is the slave Khusrau, for he with his thousand lives is thy slave."

On the south wall.

(۱) مرا نام نیک است و خواجه عظیم	دو شین و دو لام و دو قاف و دو جیم
(۲) اگر نام یابی تو زین حرفها	بدانم که هستی تو مرد فهیم

کاتب مذکور نبیره شیخ فرید شکرگنج

Translation.

(1) " My name is *Nek* (righteous) and ' Great Khūāja ' ; [it contains] two *shīns*, two *lāms*, two *qāfs* and two *jīms*.

(2) If you can evolve my name from these letters I shall know thou art a wise man.

Scribe the same as mentioned above (ʻAbdu-n Nabī son of Aiyūb) the grandson of Shaikh Farīd Shakar Ganj."

The above riddle may be solved as follows :—

2 *shīns*	. . . .	2×300=600	خ (*Khe*).
2 *lāms*	. . . .	2× 30= 60	س (*Sīn*).
2 *qāfs*	. . . .	2×100=200	ر (*Re*).
2 *jīms*	. . . .	2×3 = 6	و (*Wāo*).
			خسرو (*Khusrau*).

Inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

بدور شهنشاه عالم پناه ابوالمظفر بادشاه عادل نورالدین محمد جهانگیر غازی خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه و فاض علی العالمین بره و احسانه

Translation.

" In the reign of the emperor, the asylum of the world, the father of victory, the just king (named) Nūru-d Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the champion of faith, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign and extend over all the worlds his beneficence and benevolence."

In the year 1280 A. H. (1663-4 A. D.) one Mīyān Jān offered the pair of copper plated doors on which he engraved the following Urdū inscription containing his name

and date. The inscription seems to have been written by an illiterate man who has committed a few mistakes in spelling.

On the west leaf of the door.

قطعه تاریخ

(۱) امیر خسرو دهلی هین ایسے　　که اونکا در در جنت هی اظهار
(۲) نکیون تاثیر هو اور فیض یهانسے　　هین سرکار نظام الدین کے مختار
(۳) غریب و بنده مسکین میانجان　　محب و خادم الفقرا وفادار
(۴) بصنعت اوسنے بابدر یهه تنویر　　دیا سنه باره سو اسی مین تیار

Translation.

" Verses of a chronogram.

(1) Amīr Khusrau of Dehlī is such that his door is like the door of paradise.

(2) Why should not supplicant at his tomb be favoured, for he is the minister of the court of Nizāmu-d Dīn.

(3) The poor and humble servant Mīyān Jān, who is a faithful friend and servant of the poor.

(4) Erected these bright doors in the year 1280 (1663-4 A.D.)."

On the east leaf of the door.

(۱) زهے عزو شرف گر کیجی مقبول　　امیر خسروی مقبول یزدان
(۲) مراد دل ملے اور دل هو تنویر　　چرهاتا ندرهے جوڑي میانجان

Translation.

(1) " What honour and dignity if you accept them (the doors). O ! Amīr Khusrau, dear to God.

(2) Mīyān Jān offers the pair of doors; may he achieve the heart's wishes, and may his heart be illuminated."

In the year 1303 A. H. (1886 A. D.) Muhaīyu-d Dīn Khān of Hyderabad erected the pierced marble balustrade round the grave and inscribed his name and date on it.

گذرانیده غلامان غلام فدوی محی الدین خان شمس الامرا امیر کبیر خورشید جاه بستم
رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۳۰۳ هجری

Translation.

" Offered by the slave of the slaves the humble Muhaīyu-d Dīn Khān Shamsu-l Umarā Amīr-i Kabīr Khurshīd Jāh on the 20th of august Ramazān in the year 1303 Hijra (22nd June 1886 A.D.)."

Short biography of Amir Khusrau.

Amīr Khusrau was the chief disciple and friend of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn. His real name was Abul Hasan, Khusrau being his nom-de-plume. Amīr Saifu-d Dīn Mahmūd, the father of Khusrau was of Turkish extraction, and migrated to India from Balkh. He was given a place at court, and took up his residence at Muminābād now known as Patyālī,[1] where Khusrau was born in the year 651 A.H. (1253-4 A.D.).[2] At the

[1] Patyālī is a small town in Etah district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

[2] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 402 ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 219.

age of eight during the reign of the emperor Balban, Khusrau went in company with his father and brother to Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn and became his disciple.[1] Shortly after this Amīr Ṣaifu-d Dīn was killed in a battle and Khusrau, who was then nine years old[2] was taken under the guardianship of his maternal grandfather 'Imādu-l Mulk. At the age of 20 he lost his grandfather also, and he entered the service of Daulat Khān Mu'aẓẓam Khān commonly known as Chhajjū Khān. Later on he went to Samāna, where he received an imperial order to proceed to Lakhnautī,[3] but soon after Khusrau and his friend Khūāja Ḥasan took service with prince Muḥammad Sulṭān better known as Khan-i Shahīd, the eldest son of Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Balban and the governor of Multān and Sindh, the former having been the keeper of the *Qurān* and the latter of the inkpot.[4] Zīyā-i Barnī writes the following about this eminent prince and the appointment of Khusrau under him.

"The court of Muḥammad Sulṭān was frequented by the most learned, excellent, and accomplished men of the time. His attendants used to read to him the *Shāh Nāmah*, the *Dīwān-i Thanāī*, the *Dīwān-i Khāqānī* and the *Khamsah* of Shaikh Niẓāmī. Learned men discussed the merits of these poets in his presence. Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan were servants at his court, and attended upon him for five years at Multān, receiving from the prince allowances and grants of land. The prince fully appreciated the merits and excellences of these two poets, and delighted to honour them above all his servants. I, the author of this work, have often heard from Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan that they had very rarely seen a prince so excellent and virtuous as Khān-i Shahīd (Martyr Prince)."[5]

The story of the prince's death in a battle against the Mughals when Khusrau was made prisoner by them is related by the same author as follows :—

"In the year 684 A.H. (1285-6 A.D.) the Khān of Multān, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the Sulṭān (Balban) and the mainstay of the state, was engaged in a battle with Tamar,[6] the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changez Khān, between Lahore and Deopālpur. By the will of fate, the prince with many of his nobles and officers fell in that battle, and a grievous disaster thus happened to the kingdom of Balban. Many veteran horsemen perished in the same battle. This calamity caused great and general mourning in Multān, and from that time the Khān of Multān was called Khān-i Shahīd (Martyr Prince). Amīr Khusrau was made prisoner by the Mughals in the same action, and obtained his freedom with great difficulty. He wrote an elegy on the death of Khān-i Shahīd."[7]

After his release from the Mughals, Khusrau entered the service of Amīr 'Alī Jāma Dār,[8] whom he has much eulogized in his poems. Later on the emperor Jalālu-d Dīn

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[1] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 402.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 402 ; *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfīyā*, vol. I, p. 340. In the preface of the *Ghurratu-l Kamāl* quoted in *Thamarātu-l Quds* (folio 291 (b) seq) Khusrau writes that he was only 7 years old when his father died.

[3] *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 292 seq.

[4] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 402.

[5] *Zīyā-i Barnī*, 66-7 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 110.

[6] *Elliot* (vol. III, p. 122) reads this name as 'Samar.'

[7] *Zīyā-i Barnī*, p. 109-10 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 122.

[8] *Jāma Dār* literally a keeper of wardrobe ; probably Amīr 'Alī held this post in the royal court.

Khaljī made him his favourite courtier, which honour he continued to enjoy until his death.[1] Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq after whom he wrote the Tughlaq Nāmah, honoured him more than any other emperor. Khusrau accompanied the emperor in his journey to Bengal, but on the return of the emperor, he remained at Lakhnautī on some business.[2] In the meanwhile he heard about the death of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn and proceeded with all speed to Dehlī. Khusrau felt the death of the Shaikh very deeply.[3] He gave away all his property in alms to the poor and beggars, resigned his service with the king, and passed away in mourning, six months after his preceptor's death, on Wednesday the 18th Shawwāl[4] of the year 725 A.H. (27th September 1325 A.D.).

Khusrau was one of the most celebrated poets of India. He is said to have been the author of some 99 works,[5] of which, however, only a few are known. He enjoyed the patronage of several emperors of Dehlī, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his poems receive universal appreciation during his lifetime. It is stated that Sa'dī, the famous poet of Shirāz, undertook the trouble in his old age of travelling from his native country to Dehlī in order to make the acquaintance of Khusrau,[6] but this statement finds little support from contemporary historians and may be accepted with reserve. Sa'dī might have expressed this desire, but it is not certain that he actually came to India to see Khusrau. Indeed Ẓīyā-ī Barnī, on the contrary, states that "Khān-i Shahīd twice sent messengers to Shīrāz for the express purpose of inviting Shaikh Sa'dī to Multān, and forwarded with them money to defray the expenses of the journey. His intention was to build a Khānqāh (monastery) for him in Multān, and to endow it with villages for its maintenance. Khūāja Sa'dī, through the feebleness of old age, was unable to accept the invitations, but on both occasions he sent some verses in his own hand, and made his apologies also in writing."[7]

Amīr Khusrau is also esteemed as a saint, and his tomb, which is looked after by the *Pīrzādas* of Niẓāmu-d Dīn, is visited by pious devotees who make offerings to it. The anniversary of his death is celebrated with the same pomp and ceremony as that of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn on the 17th and 18th of the month of Shawwāl every year.

Dālān of Mirdhā Ikrām.

In the neighbourhood of Amīr Khusrau's tomb to the south-east is a red sandstone building 16′ 6″ by 9′ 10″, locally known as the *Dālān* of Mirdhā Ikrām. It is paved with marble, and contains three arched openings on the north and one on each of the east and west sides. Inside the *dālān* are four marble graves and an inscription on a marble tablet fixed on a doorway in the centre of the back wall contains the chronogram of the death of Ikrām, after whom the building is known.

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[1] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 402.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 403.

[3] *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 304 ; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt II, p. 403 ; *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfīyā*, vol. I, 341-42 ; *Safīnatu-l Auliyā*, p. 100.

[4] *Mirat-i Āftāb Numā*, folio 95 (*a*) ; *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfīyā*, vol. I, p. 342 ; *Safīnatu-l Auliyā*, p. 100 ; *Hayāt-i Khusrau*, p. 60 ; Farishta (pt. II, p. 403) however, places the death of Khusrau on the 29th of Ziqada but it cannot be correct. His anniversary is observed on the 18th Shawwāl, which is generally believed to be the date of his death.

[5] *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 219 ; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 287 (*b*), *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfīyā*, vol. I, p. 341., *Ḥayāt-i Khusrau*, p. 90 ; Farishta (pt. II, p. 403) reduces this number to 92.

[6] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 403 ; *Mirat-i Āftāb Numā*, folio 94 (*b*).

[7] *Zīyā-i Barnī*, p. 68 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 110-111.

The inscription runs as follows :—

(۱) اکرام ز لطف شه داشته ضو   چون ذره که ز آفتاب دارد پرتو

(۲) اسود بپای خسرو و سید گفت   اکرام باسود بپاي خسرو

سنه ۴۴   سنه ۱۲۱۶

Translation.

(1) " Ikrām shone in the favour of the king as a particle of sand reflects the sun.

(2) He was buried at the feet of Khusrau. and Sayyid said ' Ikrām attained rest (was interred) at the feet of Khusrau.' 44th year (of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II). The year 1216 A.H. (1801-2 A.D.)."

Ikrām is given the surname of Mirdhā,[1] the rank which he seems to have held during the reign of Shāh 'Alam II.

Grave of Ziyāu-d Dīn Barnī.

A stone grave lying concealed under the paving to the east of the *dālān* of Mirdhā Ikrām is locally known to be that of Zīyāu-d Dīn Barnī. the author of Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī and a disciple of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn.

Khān-i Daurān Khān's mosque.

The mosque of Khān-i Daurān Khān (Plate VIII. *b*) stands beyond the west wall of Amīr Khusrau's enclosure, and may be approached through the doorway on that side. It is a small structure constructed of red sandstone in the late Mughal style. The prayer chamber which measures internally 16′ 7″ by 9′ 11″ is surmounted by three bulbous domes and is richly decorated inside with coloured painting. In the centre of the courtyard lies a stone platform surrounded by a stone *jālī* balustrade nearly one foot high. and containing an inscribed grave. apparently that of Khān Daurān Khān, the founder of the mosque. There are two other unknown graves in the courtyard of the mosque. while outside it by the south wall are a few inscribed ones. but none of these are of any special interest.

'Khān-i Daurān Khān' is only a title, and there are not less than four Mughal nobles known to history by this appellation. Khān-i Daurān Khān. the founder of this mosque. is probably Samsāmu-d Daulah Khān-i Daurān Khān Bahādur Manṣūr Jang, on whom this title together with the rank of seven thousand was conferred by the emperor Farrukhsīyar. Muhammad Shāh further bestowed upon him the title of Amīru-l Umarā. He died in 1151 A.H. (1739 A.D.) of wounds received in a skirmish against the Persian soldiers on the occasion of the invasion of Nādir Shāh.[2]

Langar Khāna.

Outside the enclosure of Amīr Khusrau at its eastern gateway. is a solid looking building of Pathān style (Plate V, *b*), which according to the local tradition was originally the Langar Khāna (alms house) attached to the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn. It consists of an oblong hall 38′ by 28′ with four arched entrances on the north, and is divided internally by local hard stone pillars into twelve compartments. A *chabūtra* standing in front of it has partly blocked three of these entrances, of which the eastern one was already closed with a wall, the western archway, however, being open and giving access to the building.

[1] "*A man placed over ten.* The rank of *Mīrdahah* appears to have been the only *non-commissioned* rank in Mughal armies. *Mīrdahah* is also used in the sense *of a servant who looks after ten horses.*" (*Āīn-i Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 116*n*.)

[2] *Maāthiru-l Umarā*, vol. I, pp. 819-22.

Tomb of Atgah Khān.

Some 30 yards from the eastern gateway of Amīr Khusrau's enclosure towards the north. and opposite to the tomb of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn almost touching the east wall of his enclosure. lies the mausoleum of Atgah Khān (Plate IX, *a*) built by his son Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh in the year 974 A.H. (1566-7 A.D.). It stands in a walled enclosure which is entered through the doorway of the *Khānqāh* of Bahrām Shāh the son of Shāh 'Alam II. The tomb consists of a chamber. which measures 29′ 6″ square externally and is covered by a marble dome. On each of the four sides of the building is a deeply recessed arch pierced by a doorway in the centre and enclosed by Qurānic inscriptions which conclude with a reference to the name of Bāqī Muḥammad the scribe. The doorway on the north. east and west are closed by *jālī* screens. while that on the south forms an entrance to the tomb. The building is constructed of red sandstone inlaid with marble and coloured tiles. The interior of the tomb was once very effectively ornamented with tile work and painted plaster. but this has now to a great extent peeled off. exposing the masonry of the walls and domes.

Sairu-l Manazil (folios 46 and 47*a*) contains a large number of verses which are stated to have been written inside the tomb on the walls. presumably on the tiles which have now disappeared. They are only expressive of the instability of the world and prayers to God. without any historical interest. The building had long been in a neglected condition until 1903 when it was taken in hand by the Archaeological Department. and all necessary measures of conservation were carried out.[2] The original pinnacle of the dome was destroyed by storm.[3] but in recent times has been replaced by a gilded one.

Inside the tomb there are three marble graves ornamented with interesting carving. The grave in the centre is that of Atgah Khān. and that on its east is that of his wife, Jījī Anagah ; the one on its left is not identified.[4] On each of the doors of the building there is an inscription engraved on a marble slab. but of these only the following one which is on the entrance towards south. refers to the date and erection of the tomb, the rest being quotations from the Qurān.

تمت هذا العمارة الشريفة فی سنه اربع و سبعین و تسعمایه باهتمام استاد خدا قلی

Translation.

" This noble edifice was finished in the year 974 A.H. (1566-7 A.D.) under the superintendence of Ustād Khuda Qulī."

Short biographical account of Atgah Khān.

Atgah Khān was the husband of Akbar's wet-nurse Jījī Anagah. His real name was Shamsu-d Dīn Muḥammad. the title Atgah Khān being merely the appellation which was given to the husband of a nurse, as the nurse herself was known as Anagah. He was the son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī and first entered the service of Mirzā Kamrān, the brother of Humāyūn. Atgah Khān was present with the Mughal army, when Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shah Sūr and aided the emperor in his escape from the battle field. Humāyūn rewarded him by appointing his wife a wet-nurse of prince Akbar. When Bairām Khān, having fallen into disfavour with the emperor

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[1] *Athāru-s Sanādīd*, chapter III, p. 57 ; *Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh*, p. 172 ; *Carr Stephen*, p. 117 ; *Keene*, p. 57.

[2] *Annual*, 1903-4, p. 23-5.

[3] *Carr Stephen*, p. 118 ; *Keene*, p. 57.

[4] Hearn assigns this grave to a brother of Atgah Khān. (Seven Cities of Dehli, p. 117.)

Akbar, raised a rebellion against him, Atgah Khān was appointed governor of the Panjāb and sent against Bairām Khān, whom he defeated. For this service he was rewarded with the title of 'Āzam Khān. Shortly after, in the sixth year of the reign of Akbar, he was appointed as "Vakil" or chancellor of the empire. This aroused the enmity of certain powerful personages of the court such as Mun'im Khān and Māham Anagah, and at last on the 12th Ramazān 969 A.H. (5th May 1562 A.D.) he was assassinated by Adham Khān, the youngest son of Māham Anagah, another nurse of Akbar, when engaged with Mun'im Khān and other grandees upon state business in the palace at Agra.[1] According to Farishta Atgah Khān was killed in the year 970 A.H. (1562-3 A.D.) by Adham Khān while reading the Qurān.[2] The body of Atgah Khān was removed to Dehlī and buried near the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn Auliya. In the year 974 A.H. (1566-7 A.D.) some five years after his death Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh his younger son erected a tomb over his remains.

Khānqāh of Bahrām Shāh.

The *Khānqāh* of Bahrām Shāh consists of a three arched *dālān*, constructed of brick masonry and red sandstone, and an open court to the north. The red sandstone doorway on the east, which gives entrance to the building, bears an inscription inlaid with black letters and dated 1225 A.H. (1810-11 A.D.).

(۱) شه بهرام ابن شاه عالم   مرتب ساخت جای خوش سراپا
(۲) خرد از سال تاریخش چنین گفت   که اقدس خانقاه روح افزا
۱۲۲۵

Translation.

(1) "Shāh Bahrām, the son of Shāh 'Ālam erected this pleasant building.
(2) Wisdom said for the date of its erection 'A sacred and pleasing (lit. increasing of spirits) Khānqāh (a monastery).' The year 1225."

To the north of the court there was another doorway which gave access to the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, but it is now blocked up. An inscription, engraved on a marble slab, is fixed near this doorway on the northern face of the wall, and runs as follows :—

ساخت مکان جنت نشان محمد بهرام شاه ابن شاه عالم بادشاه غازی

Translation.

"This paradise like house was built by Muḥammad Bahrām Shāh, the son of Shāh 'Ālam the king champion of faith."

Grave of Bahrām Shāh.

The grave of Bahrām Shāh, which is of marble, lies in the centre of the *dālān*. It is not inscribed. The deceased, as is indicated by the inscription on the doorway of the *Khānqāh*, was the son of Shāh Alam II. In the *dālān* and courtyard are a large number of other graves, which are believed to be those of the members of the royal Mughal family.

Grave of the wife of Bahrām Shāh.

On the extreme west of the courtyard is the grave of Bī Jān, the wife of Bahrām Shāh. It is of red sandstone with an inscribed marble slab fixed on the western enclosing

[1] *Maāthiru-l Umarā*, vol. II, pp. 531-4 ; *Āīn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 321.
[2] *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, vol. I, p. 252 ; *Briggs*, vol. II, 211.

wall of the court. The inscription which runs as follows is dated 1222 A.H. (1807—8 A.D.) :—

(۱) زوجهٔ بهرام شد بست رخت زین جهان و چشم آن گریان چو میغ
(۲) داغ حسرت بر نهاد او نهاد رفت بی جان گفت هاتف ای دریغ
سنه ۱۲۲۲

Translation.

(1) "The wife of Bahrām Shāh repaired from the world, and his eyes shed tears like cloud.

(2) (This event) left a mark of sorrow on his heart, and the invisible crier said 'Alas! Bī Jān departed.'

The year 1222."

At the four corners of the slab are written the names of Allah, Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husain. It is not improbable that the burial of his favourite wife here actuated Bahrām Shāh to build the *Khānqāh*.

Grave of Khāujgī. In the centre of the courtyard, a marble grave with two marble slabs standing at its north and south is specially noteworthy. It is of a saint named Khūājgī and is much older than the *Khānqāh*. The northern slab contains the following inscription which begins with the *kalima* and is dated 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) :—

(۱) از جهان رفت خواجگی درویش سوی فردوس رهنما آمد
(۲) دل ازین دار بے بقا بر کند ز انده کار جهان فدا آمد
(۳) از سر اعتقاد و روی نیاز بر در شیخ اولیا آمد
(۴) در بهشت برین نهاد قدم فارغ از قید ما سوا آمد
(۵) سال تاریخ او خرد گفتا عمر درویش بے بقا آمد
قایله و کاتبه عبدالسلام

Translation.

(1) "Khūājgī Darvish departed from the world, and he acted as a guide to the paradise.

(2) He renounced this transitory world, as every thing there is to be vanished in the end.

(3) With faith and supplication he came to the door of Shaikh Auliyā (Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn Auliyā).

(4) He stepped into the highest paradise, and was relieved from the bondage of the world.

(5) Wisdom spoke the date of his death 'The age of Darvīsh was not everlasting.'

Composed and written by 'Abdu-s Salām."

The slab on the south is elaborately carved with pleasing floral designs, and is inscribed with the following verse at the top :—

ای بے تو گردش فلک بے مدار حیف باشد زمانه و تو نباشی هزار حیف

Translation.

"Pity for the revolution of the supportless sky without thee! Thousand pities that there should be the world and not thee."

A marble slab of the same size and similarly carved lies in the courtyard of the *Khanqāh*. It apparently belonged to one of the few marble graves which lie beside that of Khūājgī and are seemingly contemporaneous with it. The grave of Khūājgī as well as the inscriptions on both the slabs are referred to in Sairu-l Manāzil (folio 47) but nothing is recorded about the saint.

The *Khānqāh* was filled with earth and debris, and overgrown with rank vegetation. Recently it has been cleared by the Archæological Department, and most of the graves laid bare. In connection with this improvement, the doorway of the *Khānqāh* and that of the tomb of Atgah Khān were furnished with new wooden door-leaves in the Mughal style.

Chaunsaṭh Khambah.

About 50 yards to the south of Atgah Khān's tomb lies buried his son, Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh. The mausoleum of Mirzā 'Azīz is popularly known as Chaunsaṭh Khambah (Plate X, *b*) on account of its sixty-four (*Chaunsaṭh*) pillars (*Khambah*). It takes the shape of a hall 67′ square, built of marble and divided into 25 open bays, which are covered by domes. Each of the four sides is divided into four bays by a range of double columns set depthwise, from the capitals of which spring pointed arches. The spaces between these columns are filled in with latticed marble screens some 10 feet high, and in each of the central bays there is a doorway in the screens giving entrance to the tomb. The arches above the screens are open. Facing the western door of the tomb, there is the marble grave of the wife of Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh while beside it is his own grave built of marble and ornamented with fine carving. A Qurānic inscription encircles it concluding with the date, 1033 A.H. (1623-24 A.D.). Inside the building there are eight other graves which are uninscribed but are said to belong to the Kokaltāsh family.

The Chaunsaṭh Khambah stands in a large walled enclosure entered by an arched doorway on the west. The main entrance is through a pretentious gateway at the north-east corner of the enclosure (Plate X, *a*). Inside the enclosure to the north of the Chaunsaṭh Khambah are the graves of the daughters and wives of Bahādur Shāh, the last king of Dehlī.[1]

Short biographical account of Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltāsh.

Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltāsh was the youngest son of Shamsu-d Dīn Atgah Khān and Jījī Anagah, the nurse of Akbar. He was the foster brother and playmate of Akbar, and was known by the surname of Koka or Kokaltāsh, which means a foster brother. The emperor treated him very tenderly, though often offended by his boldness he would but rarely punish him. He used to say " Between 'Azīz and me is a river of milk, which I cannot cross."[2] He was one of the best generals of Akbar, having performed signal services in Gujrāt, Bengal and the Deccan. He held the rank of 5,000 with the title of Khān-i 'Azām, and two of his daughters were married to princes of the royal blood, one to prince Murād, the son of Akbar, and the other to prince Khusrau, the son of Jahāngīr.

He incurred the displeasure of Jahāngīr by giving a favourable countenance to the rebellion of prince Khusrau, his son-in-law, and during the reign of that emperor he was more than once deprived of his rank and imprisoned, but was soon after restored to his position. In the eighteenth year of the reign of Jahāngīr he was appointed tutor

[1] *Carr Stephen*, p. 121 ; *Keene*, p. 58.

[2] *Maāthiru-l Umarā*, vol. I, 675 ; *Āīn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, 325.

(*atālīq*) to prince Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Khusrau, who had been appointed governor of Gujrāt, but a year later died at Aḥmadābād[1] (1033 A.H.=1623-24 A.D.). His corpse was brought to Dehlī and buried close to his father's mausoleum, where a splendid monument was erected over his grave.[2]

Mirzā 'Azīz was remarkable for ease of address, intelligence, and knowledge of history, but seems frequently to have brought trouble on himself from his freedom of speech.[3]

Other monuments of interest inside the enclosure of the village of Niẓāmu d Dīn are the Lāl Maḥall, the inscribed mosque of Khān-i Jahān and the tomb of Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī. They are now mostly ruined and occupied by villagers, but are not without interest.

Lāl Maḥall.

The Lāl Maḥall or the Red palace (Plate XI, *a*) stands some 50 yards to the north of the Chaunsaṭh Khambah near the northern enclosing wall of the village. The whole structure, which is raised on a *chabūtra*, is much dilapidated. It is constructed of red sandstone and consists of a central domed apartment surrounded by an arched *dālān* on each of its four sides. The latter have red sandstone pillars very simply ornamented, and lintels supporting a flat roof of the same material, over which are *chhatrīs* on the east, west and south, the northern *chhatrī* having disappeared. Some 25 feet to the north-west of the dome on the same *chabūtra* is a double storeyed *chhatrī* which was originally connected with the palace. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān identifies this building with Kūshak-i Lāl, which he says was erected by Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Balban before he ascended the throne.[4] Carr Stephen assigns it to 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī and says " Of the history of these ruins, we know nothing, but the opinion that they belong to the Khiljī kings and very probably to 'Ala-uddin has received the support of Mr. Campbell's authority. There is nothing palatial about these ruins: thirty years[5] ago they were more numerous, but red-stone having since risen in value by the growing demand for it in the neighbourhood, this neglected building has suffered from the ravages of plundering villagers * * * The style of the ornamentation, of the battlements, and of the mouldings so strongly resembles that in the Alai Darwaza at the Qutb that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the two buildings having been designed and built at the same period: and we have thus ample warrant for describing the Lal Mahal as the work of 'Ala-uddin."[6]

Inscribed mosque of Khān-i Jahān.

The mosque of Khān-i Jahān[7] (Plate IX, *b*), the prime minister of Fīroz Shāh, lies at the south-east corner of the village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn, and can be easily approached from the eastern dilapidated gateway of the village enclosure if the visitor should desire to avoid its dirty lanes. It is a big structure, but in an advanced stage of decay, and,

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1 *Maāthiru-l Umarā*, vol. I, pp. 675-689 ; *Āīn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, pp. 325-27.

2 *Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh*, p. 199 ; *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd*, chapter III, p. 62 ; *Carr Stephen*, p. 119.

3 *Maāthiru-l Umarā*, vol. I, 689-90 ; *Āīn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, 327.

4 *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter I, pp. 14-15 ; Ziyā-i Barnī (pp. 122 and 130) also refers to Kushak-i Lāl, but does not give the name of the founder or the date of its erection. It may, however, be inferred from his account that it was built by Balban and stood in the old city of Dehlī, *i.e.*, near Quṭb. According to Khulāṣatu-t Tawārīkh (p. 28) it was built by Jalālu-d Dīn Khaljī, but it is not stated therein as to where this building was located.

5 Carr Stephen wrote in the year 1876.

6 *Carr Stephen*, p. 215.

7 *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 36 ; *Carr Stephen*, p. 149.

like other mosques of this founder, is built of rubble stone coated with plaster, which has now become quite black with age. It is of the same design as the Khirkī mosque, containing four inner courts and numerous domes, many of which have now collapsed. The building was occupied by the villagers until a few years ago, when the local authorities had it evacuated on the recommendation of the Archæological Department. The following inscription referring to the erection and date of the mosque is engraved on a marble slab which is fixed on its eastern gateway (Plate VI, *b*) :—

بکرم و فضل حق سبحانه و تعالی در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین الزمان الواثق بتائید
الرحمن ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلدالله ملکه و اعلی امره و شانه این مسجد بناکرد بنده زاده
درگاه آسمان جاه عالمپناه جو نانشه مقبول الملقب بخانجهان ابن خانجهان در سال هفتصد هفتاد دو
از هجرت پیغامبر صلی‌الله علیه و سلام خداے بران بندہ رحمت کند که درین مسجد نماز بگذارد
این بنده را بفاتحه و دعاے ایمان یاد کند -

Translation.

" By the favour and grace of God the most holy and omnipotent, during the reign of the king of kings of the age, strong by the help of the merciful, Abul Muẓaffar Fīroz Shāh the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and increase his command and dignity —this mosque was built by the son of the slave of the threshold which is as exalted in dignity as the sky and is the sanctuary of the world, (named) Jūnān Shāh Maqbūl entitled Khān-i Jahān son of Khān-i Jahān in the year 772 from the flight of the Prophet (1370-71 A.D.), may God bless him and give him peace. May God have compassion on him who, offering prayer in this mosque, should remember this slave with Fātiḥa[1] and prayers for his faith."

Short biographical account of Khān-i Jahān Maqbūl, and Khān-i Jahān bin Khān-i Jahān Junān Shāh.

Khān-i Jahān, the father and the son, were, in succession, the prime ministers of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, and had the greatest influence in the court of that emperor. Khān-i Jahān, the father, was a Hindū convert whose original name was Kattū. He was a native of Tilang, and a man of high position in favour with the Rāī (ruler) of that country. When Sultān Muḥammad Shāh sent the Rāī as prisoner to Dehlī[2] and the latter died on the way, Kattū presented himself to Muḥammad Shāh and embraced Islām. The Sulṭān gave him the name of Maqbūl and bestowed on him many marks of his favour. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he received the title of Qawāmu-l Mulk, and a grant of the fief of Multān. Later on he was made Nāib Wazīr under the premiership of Khūāja-i Jahān Aḥmad Ayāz, when he used to seal and place his signature on *parwānas* as " Maqbūl, the slave of Muḥammad Tughlaq." (مقبول بندۂ محمد تغلق) On the demise of Muḥammad Shāh, Khūāja-i Jahān[3] who was at Dehlī attempted to

[1] The first chapter of the *Qurān*, which is recited for the dead.

[2] This probably refers to the conquest of Tilangāna and Arangal (*Farishta* calls it Wārangal) by Muḥammad Shāh in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) while he was a prince. The name of the Rāī, who had been sent to Dehlī with all his relations and dependants was Rāī Laddar Deo. There is, however, no mention here of Kattū or of the death of the Rāī. (*Zīya-i Barnī*, pp. 449-50 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 233 ; *Farishta*, pt. I, p. 131.)

[3] Khūāja-i Jahān was beheaded for this rebellion. He was a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn Auliyā, and among the various religious observances he performed to prepare himself for execution, he is said to have also worn the sacred cap and the turban, which he had received as relics from the saint. (*Shams Sirāj 'Afīf*, pp. 69 and 77)

place a son[1] of the late emperor on the throne. Qawāmu-l Mulk was also at that time in Dehlī, but when Fīroz Shāh approached the city, he went out to meet him, and helped him to get possession of it. He was then made Wazīr and received the title of Khān-i Jahān. He held this high and responsible post for nearly 18 years until his death, which happened in the year 770 A.H. (1368-9 A.D.), and during all this period he enjoyed the greatest trust of his master and the love of the public. The emperor shed tears at his loss, and the whole of Dehlī went into mourning for him. Khān-i Jahān was a disciple of Shaikh Naṣīru-d Dīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī and he was buried at the foot (پائین) of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn Auliyā.[2]

Khān-i Jahān, the son, was born at Multān, when his father held the fief of that province. The father wrote to acquaint Sultan Muḥammad Shāh with the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Jūnān Shāh.[3] His full name as given in the inscriptions on this mosque and on the Kalān Masjid in Shāhjahānābād is Jūnān Shāh Maqbūl (جونانشاه مقبول) but the ending Maqbūl represents the name of his father only. After the death of Khān-i Jahān Maqbūl, the emperor Fīroz Shāh promoted Jūnān Shāh to the high post of Wazīr, and bestowed on him the title of Khān-i Jahān bin Khān-i Jahān (Khān-i Jahān son of Khān-i Jahān). He acted as minister under Fīroz Shāh for about twenty years, and the emperor committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge. Towards the end of the reign of Fīroz Shāh, enmity broke out between Khān-i Jahān and the prince Muḥammad Khān, afterwards Muḥammad Shāh, which resulted in the total downfall of the former.[4] The prince managed to secure the royal orders for the dismissal of the minister, and one night in the month of Rajab 789 A.H. (1387 A.D.) attacked his house. Khān-i Jahān unable to make resistance fled to Mīwāt, where he sought refuge with Kokā Chauhān, at Mahārī. His house was, however, plundered and several of his adherents were put to death. The prince, who was now entrusted with full powers by the Sultan, sent Malik Yāqūb, entitled Sikandar Khān, with an army against Khān-i Jahān. When this force reached Mahārī, Kokā Chauhān seized Khān-i Jahān and sent him prisoner to Sikandar Khān, who killed him and carried his head to court.[5]

Khān-i-Jahān Jūnān Shāh is famous for building several mosques in and near Dehlī,[6] of which those lying in Khirkī and Begampur villages, and the Kalān Masjid in the city of Shāhjahānābād are the most prominent. It will be interesting to note that the inscription on the Kalān Masjid is dated only one month before he had to fly for life to Mīwāt.

Tomb of Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī.

The tomb of Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī (Plate XI, *b*) stands in an extensive enclosure surrounded by battlemented walls at the south-west corner of the village. Locally this enclosure is known as Koṭ and is thickly populated by the Pīrzādas or attendants

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[1] Muḥammad Shāh had no son, but only a daughter who was born in the reign of Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq (*Shams Sirāj 'Afīf*, p. 54).

[2] *Shams Sirāj 'Afīf*, pp. 394 seq, 421-4 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, pp. 367-8, 371.

[3] The real name of Muḥammad Shāh was Fakhru-d Dīn Jūnā (*Farishta*, pt. I, pp. 128-9), and it is apparent that the emperor named the child after him. The historical works have this name written in three different ways, *viz.*, جونان جونا جونه (Jūna, Jūnā and Jūnān). The inscriptions of Khān-i Jahān on his mosques confirm only the last reading, and this may be taken as correct. جونه pronounced as *Jauna* is a Persian word meaning "The Sun."

[4] *Shams Sirāj 'Afīt*, pp. 425-8 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 371.

[5] *Elliot*, vol. IV, pp. 15-16 ; see also *Badāonī*, vol. I, pp. 252-4.

[6] *Carr Stephen*, 148-57.

of the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, who have also occupied the tomb of Tilangānī. An arched gateway, on the north, gives entrance to the Koṭ. The tomb of Tilangānī, which is constructed of rubble and dressed stone, is octagonal in plan with a diameter of some 74 feet. It consists of a central domed chamber enclosed by a verandah having three arches on each side of the octagon. These arches are supported on double square pillars of dressed stone, while on the roof of the verandah are eight domed *chhatrīs*, one at the centre of each face of the octagon.

The tomb is not inscribed, but the local tradition assigns it to one Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī, who is related to have been a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn and a general in the army of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq. Apparently this Khān-i Jahān is the same as Khān-i Jahān Maqbūl, the well known prime minister of Fīroz Shāh, who was a native of Tilang or Tilangāna. He was really a disciple of Shaikh Naṣīru-d Dīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī, and not of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, but we learn from Shams Sirāj 'Afīf (p. 424) that he was buried at the *pāyān* (پایان) of the latter. Now *pāyān*, which literally means the place where shoes are placed, is used for respect to the saint, and in a general sense may denote the vicinity of the tomb of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn. Khān-i Jahān died in the year 770 A.H. (1368-69 A.D.), and his tomb was in all probability built by his son Khān-i Jahān bin Khān-i Jahān Jūnān Shāh who in the same connection also erected the mosque noticed above. The mosque which is dated 772 A.H. (1370-71 A.D.) lies immediately to the east of the Koṭ, but this latter building is so thickly populated in and about, that it is difficult to determine the relation between the two edifices. The tomb of Khān-i Jahān is similar to those of Mubārak Shāh[1] and Muḥammad Shāh[2] the Sayyid kings, or their prototype that of 'Īsā Khān,[3] and it may therefore be taken as the first or original specimen after which these later buildings were erected.

[1] The tomb of Mubārak Shāh lies in Mubārakpur Koṭla about two miles to the south-east of Ṣafdar Jang's tomb. (For Mubārak Shāh's tomb see *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd*, chapter III, pp. 41-2 ; *Carr Stephen*, pp. 159-61.)

[2] The tomb of Muḥammad Shāh is in Khairpur village about half a mile to the north-east of Ṣafdar Jang's tomb. (For Muḥammad Shāh's tomb see *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd*, chapter III, p. 42 ; *Carr Stephen*, pp. 161-2.)

[3] The tomb of 'Īsā Khān lies some 200 yards to the east of the village of Niẓāmu-d Dīn. (For 'Īsā Khān's tomb see *Athāru-ṣ Ṣanādīd*, chapter III, p. 53 ; *Carr Stephen*, pp. 197-8.)

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INDEX.

A

'Abdu-n Nabī, son of Aiyūb, **10**, 26.
'Abdu-r Raḥmān, Khūāja, his grave, **10**, 20.
Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām, **10**, 5.
Abul Fazail, his grave, **10**, 20.
Abul Ḥasan, *see* Khusrau.
Adham Khān, son of Māham Anagah, **10**, 32.
Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān, Nawāb of Fīrozpur, **10**, 7, 14.
Akbar, **10**, 11, 15, 25, 31, 32, 34.
'Ālamgīr II, **10**, 13.
'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī, **10**, 4, 14.
'Alī-al Bukhārī, Sayyid, grandfather of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, **10**, 1.
Amīr 'Alī Jāma Dār, **10**, 28.
'Arab, Sayyid Khūāja, maternal grandfather of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, **10**, 1.
Atgah Khān, Shamsu-d Dīn, Muḥammad, **10**, 31; his tomb, **10**, 31.
A'ẓam Khān, **10**, 11.
'Azīz Kokal tāsh, Mirzā, **10**, 34.

B

Bābar, **10**, 22.
Bābar, Mirzā, his grave, **10**, 19; his wife's grave, **10**, 19.
Bahrām Shāh, his Khānqāh, **10**, 32; his grave, **10**, 32; his wife's grave, **10**, 32.
Bāī Kokaldī, **10**, 8; her tomb, **10**, 7; inscription on the floor of her tomb, **10**, 8; inscription on her grave, **10**, 8.
Bairām Khān, **10**, 11, 31, 32.
Balban, Ghiyāthu-d Dīn, **10**, 2, 28, 35.
Bāolī of Niẓāmu-d Dīn, **10**, 7.
Boughton, Gabriel, English physician, **10**, 17.

C

Chhajjū Khān, **10**, 28.
Chaunsaṭh Khambah, mausoleum of 'Azīz Kokaltāsh, **10**, 31.
Chīnī kā Burj, **10**, 7.
Chirāgh-i Dehlī, *see* Nasīru-d Dīn.

D

Daulat Khān Muaẓẓam Khān, *see* Chhajjū Khān.
Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau and grandson of Jahāngīr, **10**, 35.

F

Faizullah Khān Bangash, **10**, 14.
Farīd Murtaza Khān, **10**, 12.
Farīdu-d Dīn Khān, Sayyid, **10**, 11.
Farīdu-d Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar Ganj, Shaikh, **10**, 1, 2, 6.
Fīroz Shāh, **10**, 11, 14, 36, 37.

G

Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq, **10**, 3, 5, 6, 7, 29.

H

Ḥasan, Khuāja, friend of Amīr Khusrau, **10**, 28.
Humāyūn, **10**, 22, 31.

I

Ikrām, Mirdhā, **10**, 30; his dālān, **10**, 29.
'Ilmu-d Dīn, Maulānā, grandson of Shaikh Bahāud-d Dīn of Multan, **10**, 5.
'Imādu-d Dīn Ḥasan, Khūāja, **10**, 25.
'Imādu-l Mulk, maternal grandfather of Amīr Khusrau, **10**, 28.
Iqbāl, slave of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, **10**, 4.

J

Jahānārā, 10, 17 ; her tomb, 10, 16.
Jahāngīr, 10, 25, 26, 34.
Jahāngīr, Mirzā, 10, 18 ; his tomb, 10, 18 ; his house, 10, 19.
Jalālu-d Dīn Khaljī, 10, 3, 4, 28.
Jamā'at Khāna, 10, 4, 14.
Jawāhar, 10, 21.
Jījī Anagah, wife of Atgah Khān and wet-nurse of Akbar, 10, 31 ; her grave, 10, 31.
Jūnān Khān, name of the emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq when he was prince, 10, 5, 6.

K

Kaiqubād, Muizzu-d Dīn, 10, 3.
Khalīl-Ullah Khān, 'Umdatu-l Mulk, 10, 13.
Khān-i Daurān Khān, Samsāmu-d Daulah, 10, 30 ; his mosque, 10, 30.
Khān-i Jahān Maqbūl, 10, 36.
Khān-i Jahān Jūnān Shāh, 10, 36 ; his mosque, 10, 35.
Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī, same as Khān-i Jahān Maqbūl, 10, 38 ; his tomb, 10, 37.
Khān-i Shahīd, son of Balban, 10, 28.
Khizr Khān, son of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī, 10, 4, 5, 14.
Khūāja Jahān, 10, 11.
Khuāja Jahān Ahmad Ayāz, prime minister of Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq, 10, 36.
Khuājgī, his grave, 10, 33.
Khurshīd Jāh of Hyderabad, 10, 14, 27.
Khusrau, Amīr, 10, 27 ; enclosure containing his tomb, 10, 21 ; his tomb, 10, 22.
Khusrau Khān, slave and murderer of Qutbu-d Dīn Khaljī, 10, 5.
Koka Chauhān, 10, 37.
Kushak-i Lāl, *see* Lāl Mahall.

L

Lāl Chaubāra, 10, 9.
Lāl Mahāll, 10, 35.
Langar Khāna, 10, 30.

M

Māham Anagah, nurse of Akbar, 10, 32.
Mahdī Khūāja, 10, 22, 24.
Mahmūd Behar, Sayyid, 10, 7.
Majlis Khāna, 10, 16.
Malik Kāfūr, 10, 4.
Ma'rūf, Malik Sayyidu-l Hujjāb, chamberlain of Fīroz Shāh, 10, 9, 10.
Mirzā Khān, 10, 11.
Mīyān Jān, 10, 26, 27.
Mughīthu-d Dīn, Qāzī, 10, 4.
Muhaīyu-d Dīn, *see* Khurshīd Jāh.
Muhammad Rafīq, Justice, 10, 9.
Muhammad Shāh, 10, 8, 18 ; his tomb, 10, 18.
Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq, 10, 5, 11, 14, 36, 37.
Mu'īnu-d Dīn Chishtī, Khūāja, 10, 1.
Mulāyam Khān, father of Bāī Kokaldī, 10, 8.
Mun'im Khān, 10, 32.
Muqīm, Mirzā, his grave, 10, 20.

N

Najību-d Dīn Mutawakkil, brother of Farīdu-d Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar Ganj, 10, 2.
Nasīru-d Dīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī, 10, 6, 37.
Nizām of Hyderabad, His Exalted Highness, 10, 10, 21.
Nizāmu-d Dīn 'Alī Khalīfa, Amīr, prime minister of Bābar, 10, 24.
Nizāmu-d Dīn, Shaikh, his ancestors, 10, 1 ; his birth, 10, 1 ; his departure to Dehlī, 10, 2 ; his becoming disciple of Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj, 10, 2 ; his return to Dehlī and residence at Ghiyāthpur, 10, 2 ; his Chillagāh, 10, 3 ; his relations with the emperors of Delhī, 10, 3 ; his death, 10, 6 ; his tomb, 10, 10.
Nizāmu-d Dīn village, 10, 7.

Q

Qarā Beg, Malik, 10, 4.
Qutbu-d Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Khūāja, 10, 1, 2.
Qutbu-d Dīn Khaljī, 10, 3, 4, 5.

S

Sa'dī, poet of Shiraz, 10, 29.
Saifu-d Dīn Mahmūd, Amīr, father of Amīr Khusrau, 10, 27.
Sayyid Ahmad, father of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, 10, 1.

Seyton, Resident at Shāhjahanābād, Dehlī, 10, 18.
Shādī Khān, son of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī, 10, 4, 5.
Shakar Ganj, see Farīdu-d Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar Ganj.
Shamsu-d Dīn, Khuāja, 10, 2.
Shamsu-d Dīn Māhrū, nephew of Amīr Khusrau, 10, 22.
Sher Shāh Sūr, 10, 31.
Shihābu-d Dīn Ahmad Khān, a noble of Akbar's court, 10, 25.
Shihābu-d Dīn, prince, 10, 5.
Shihābu-d Dīn of Hirat, 10, 24.

T

Ṭāhir Muḥammad 'Imādu-d Uddīn Ḥasan, 10, 26.
Tamar, General of Changīz Khān, 10, 28.
Tārghī Beg, Mughal general who invaded Dehlī during the reign of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī, 10, 4.

W

Waḥīd Quraishī, father of Ma'rūf Malik Sayyidu-l Ḥujjāb, 10, 10.

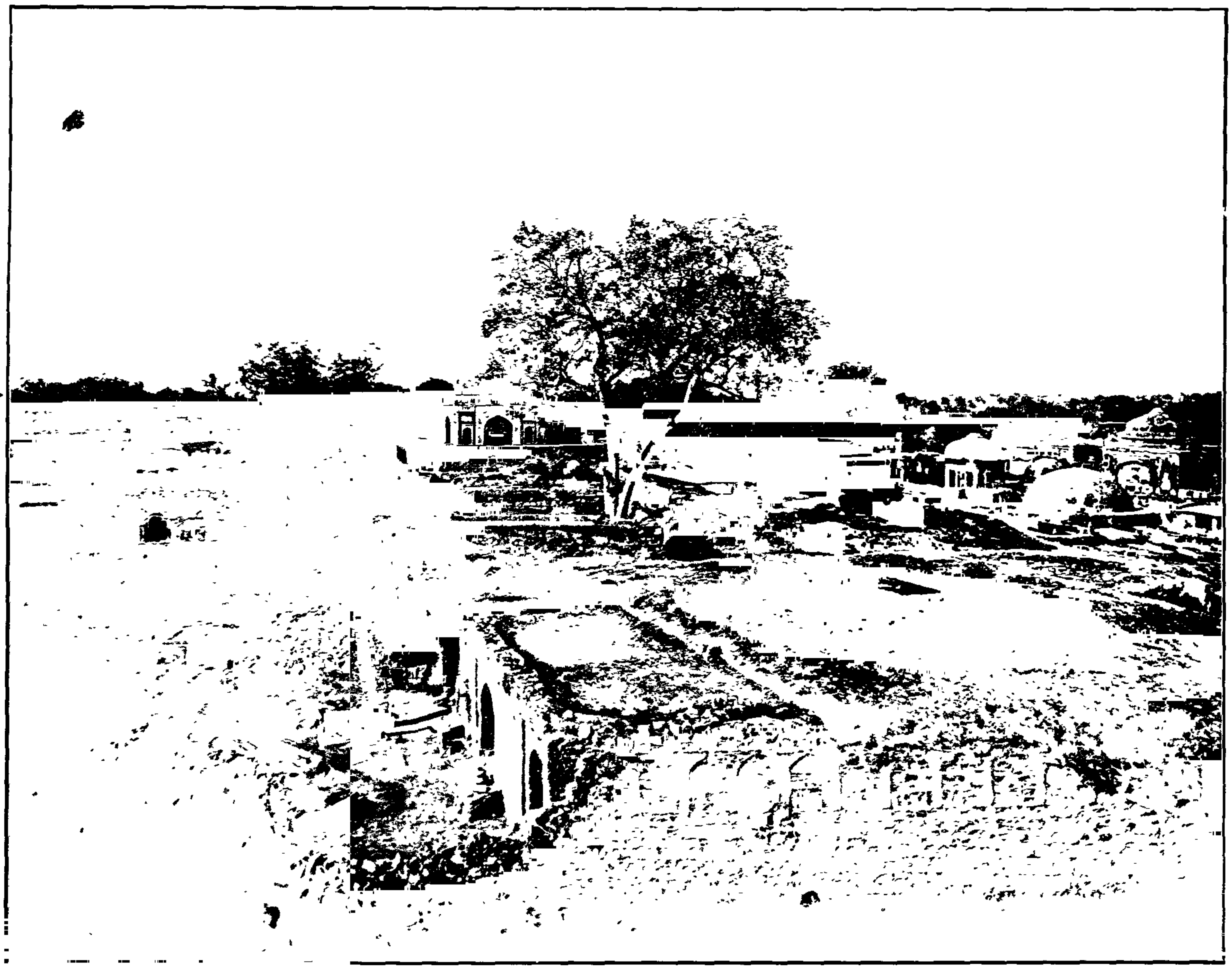
Y

Yarān-i Chabūtra, 10, 7.

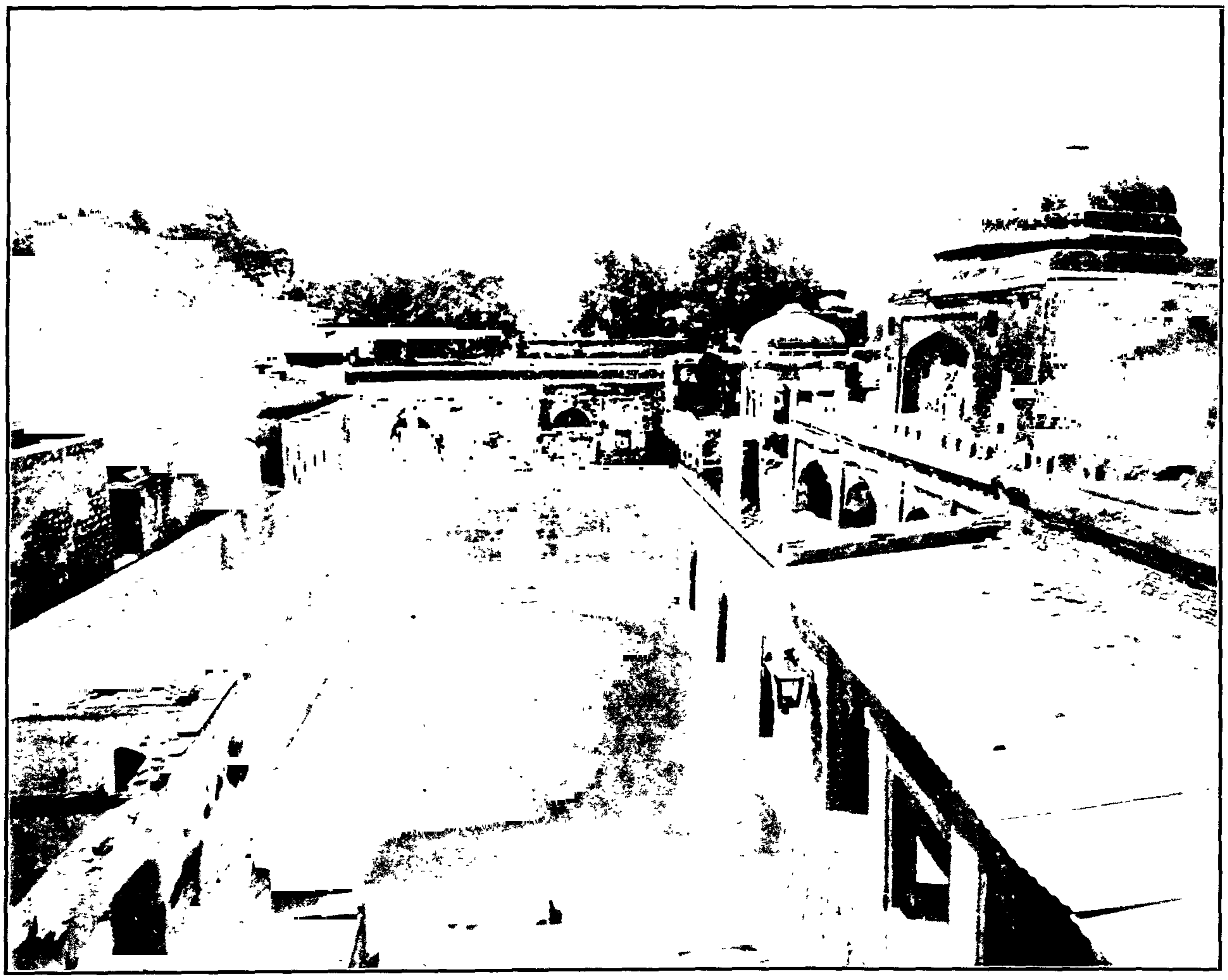
Z

Ziyāu-d Dīn 'Imādu-l Mulk, Khuāja, 10, 3.
Zuhrā, an unknown lady, 10, 7.
Zulaikha, Bibī, mother of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d Dīn, 10, 1.

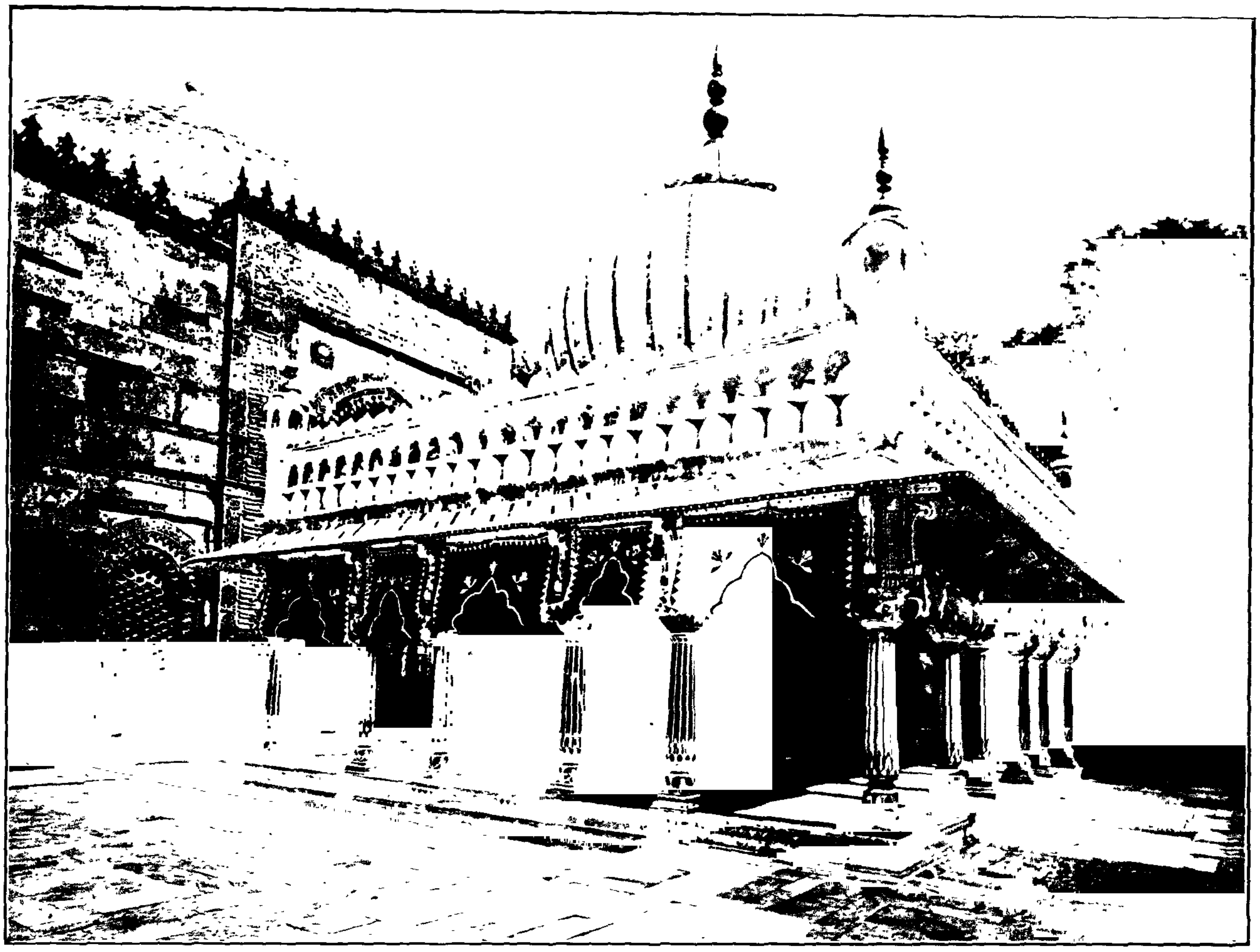
SGPI—14 Sec.—S DG Archy.—1-3-22.



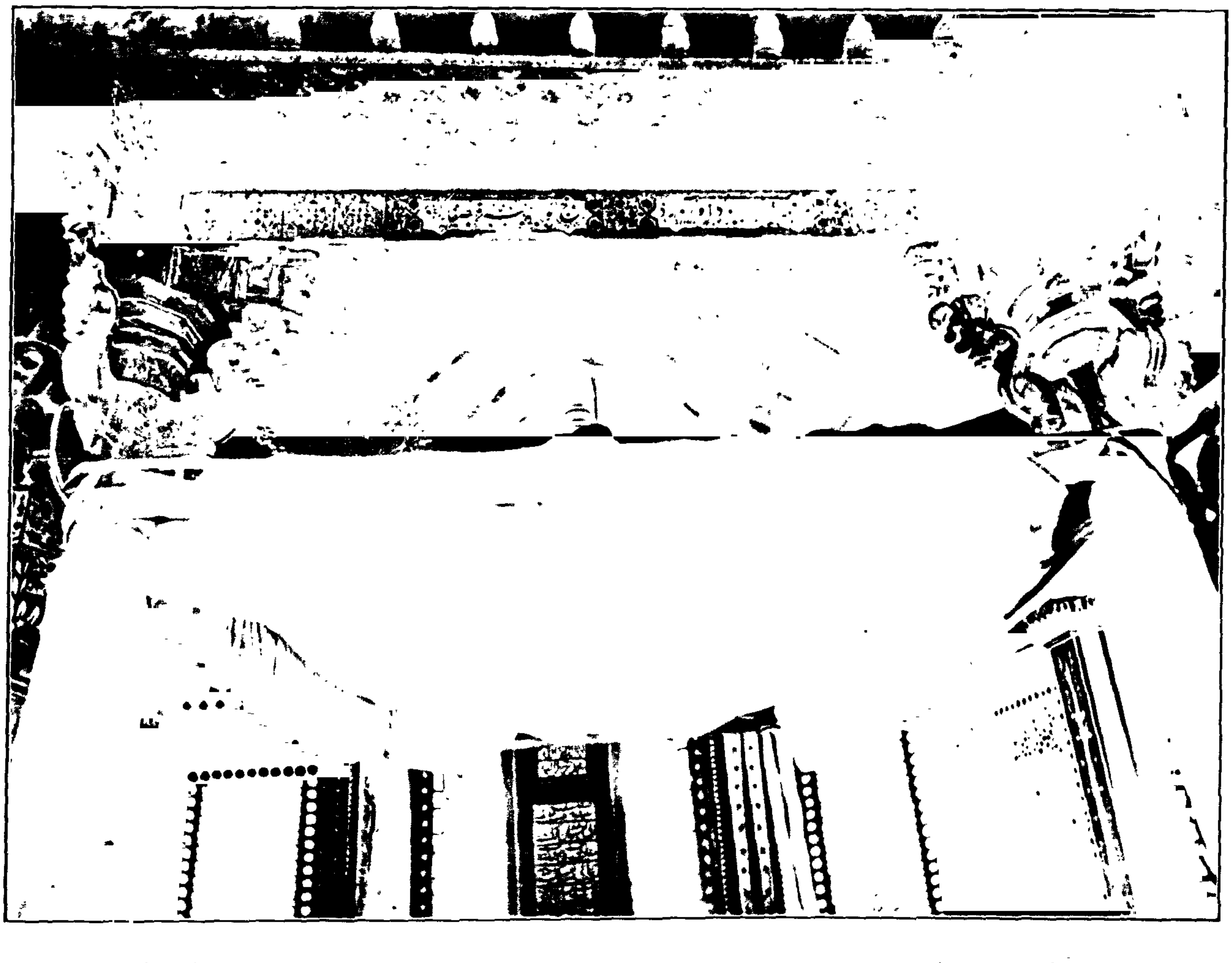
(a). GENERAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE OF NIZĀMU-D DĪN.



(b). GENERAL VIEW OF THE BĀOLĪ OF NIZĀMU-D DĪN.

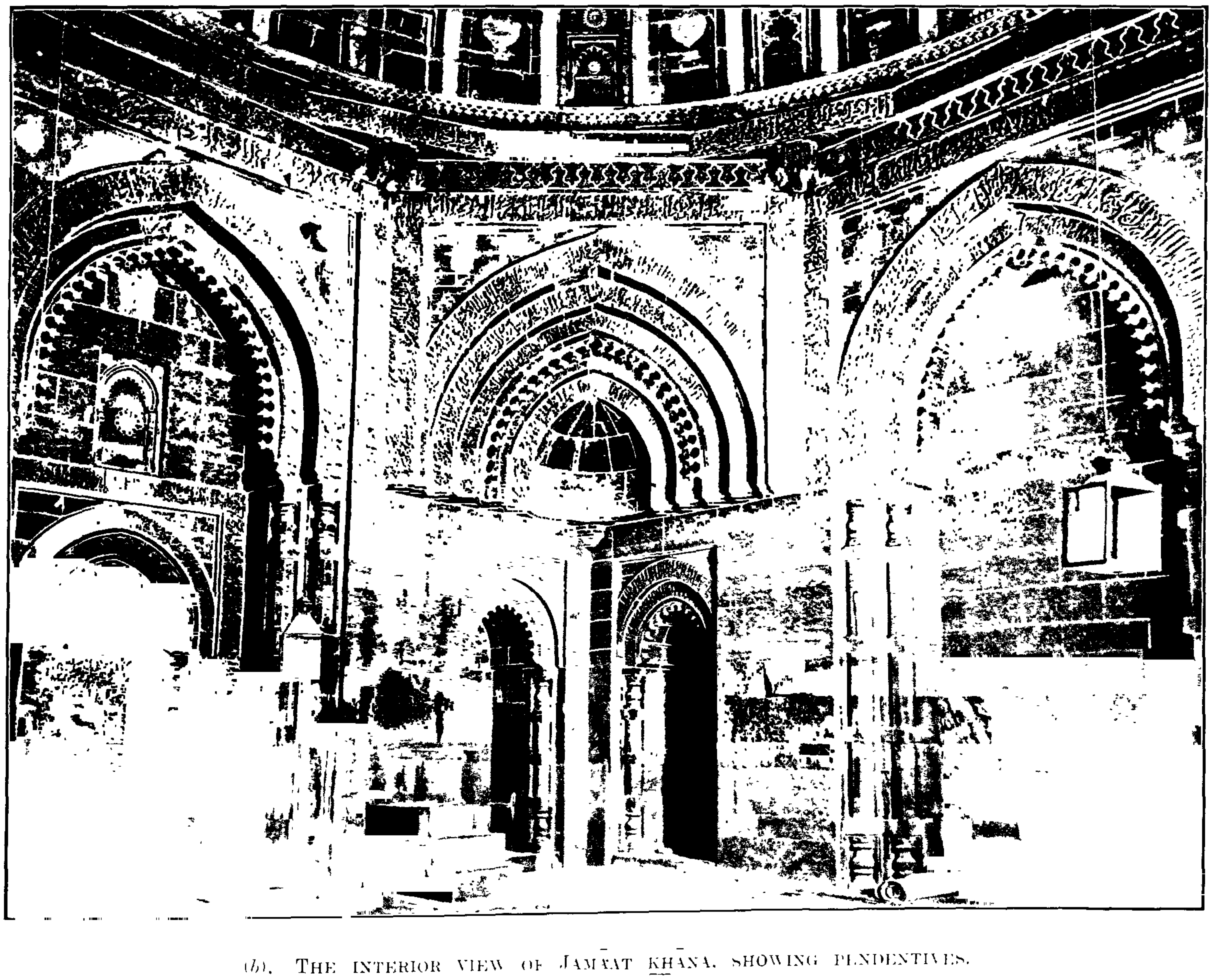


(a). TOMB OF NIZĀMU-D DĪN

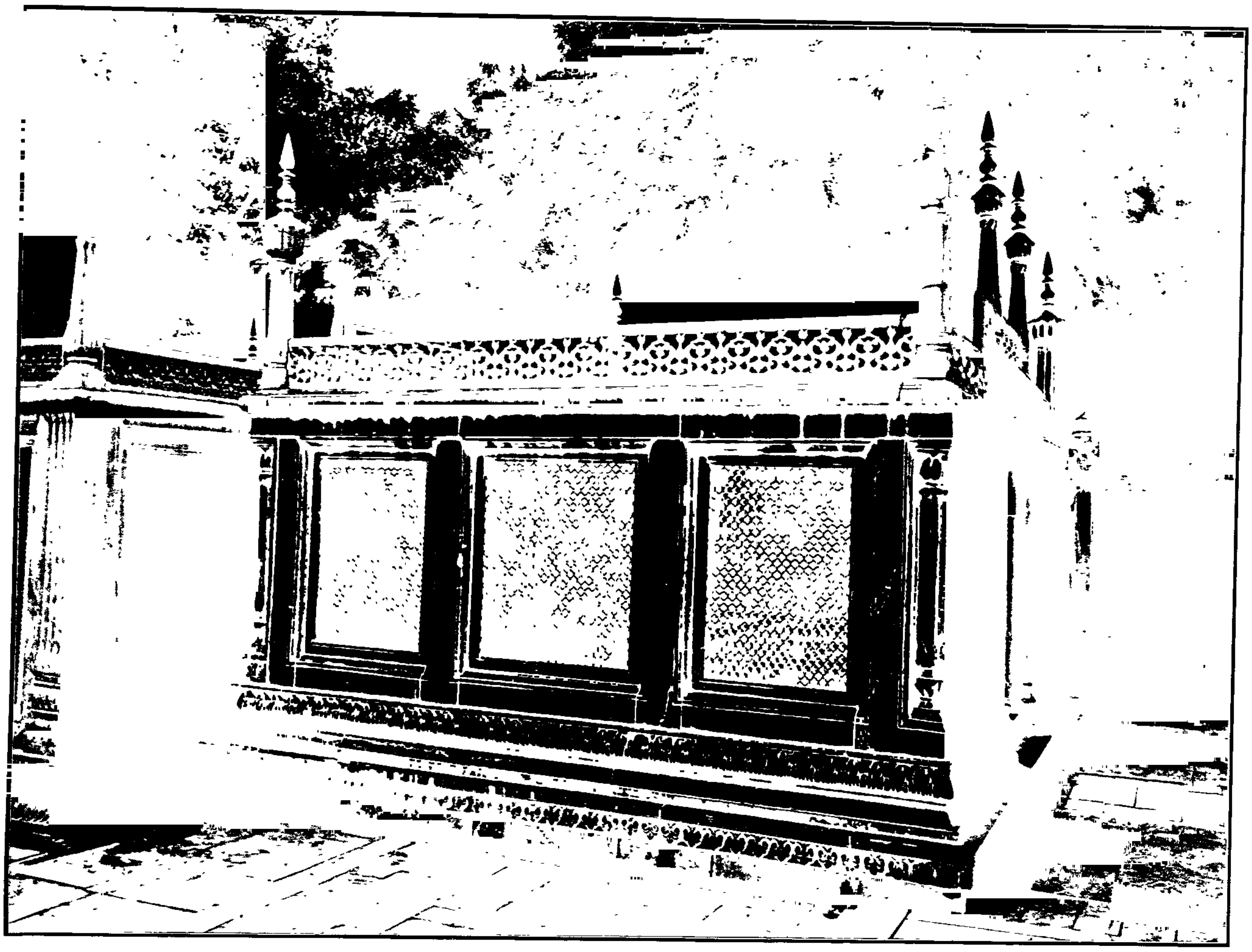


(b). WOODEN CANOPY INLAID WITH MOTHER OF PEARL OVER THE GRAVE OF NIZĀMU-D DĪN

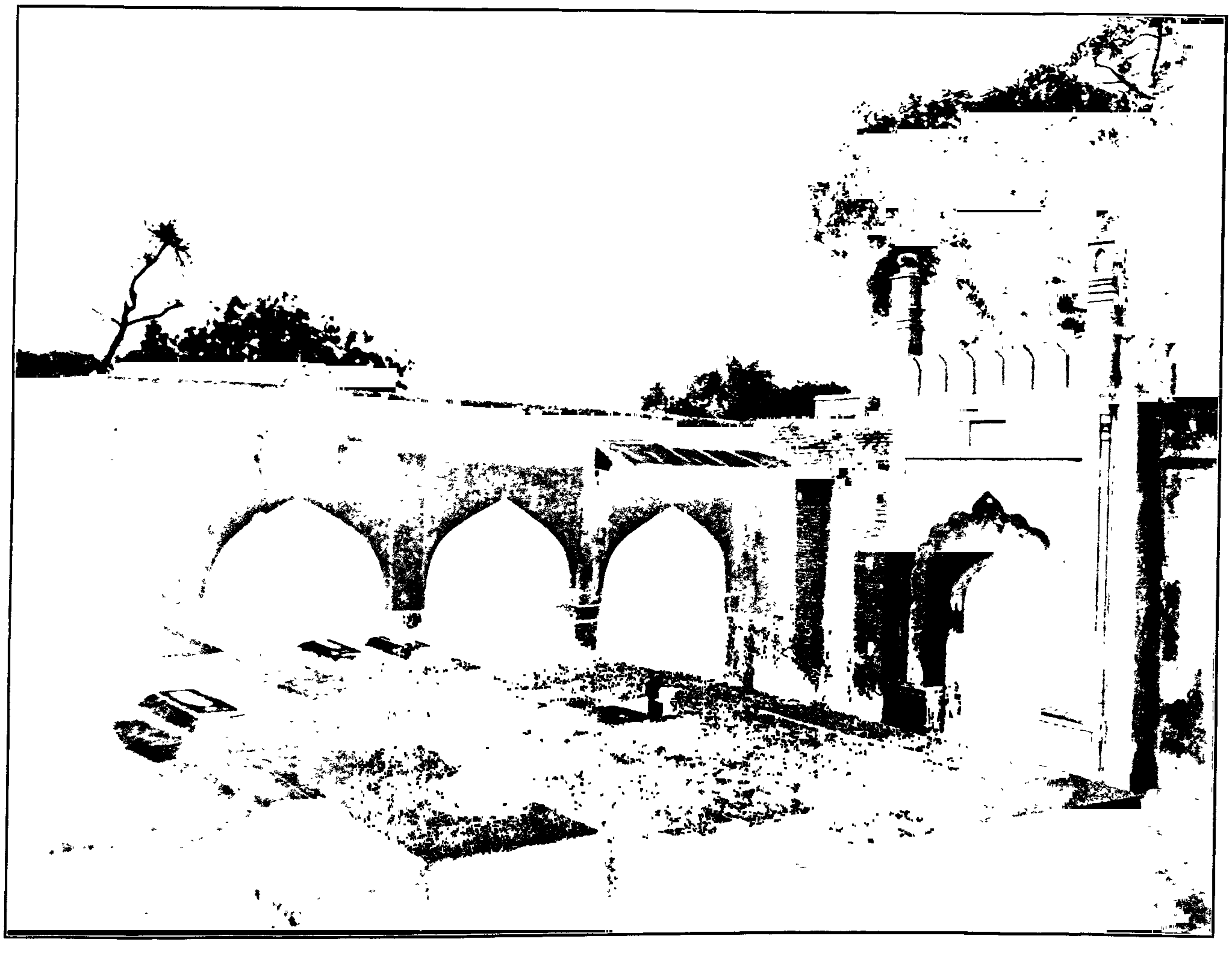
(*a*). EAST FAÇADE OF JAMĀ'AT KHĀNA.



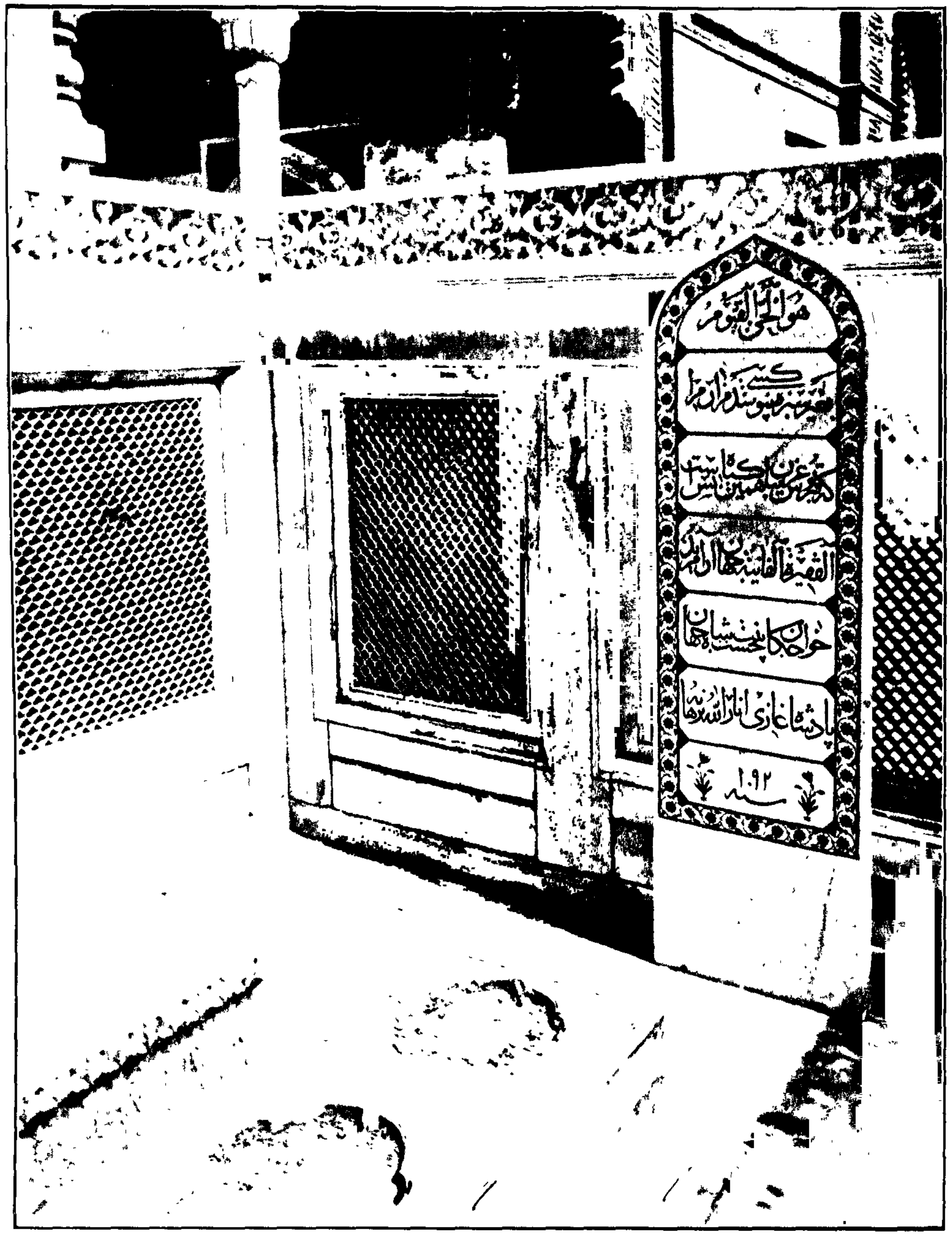
(*b*). THE INTERIOR VIEW OF JAMĀ'AT KHĀNA, SHOWING PENDENTIVES.



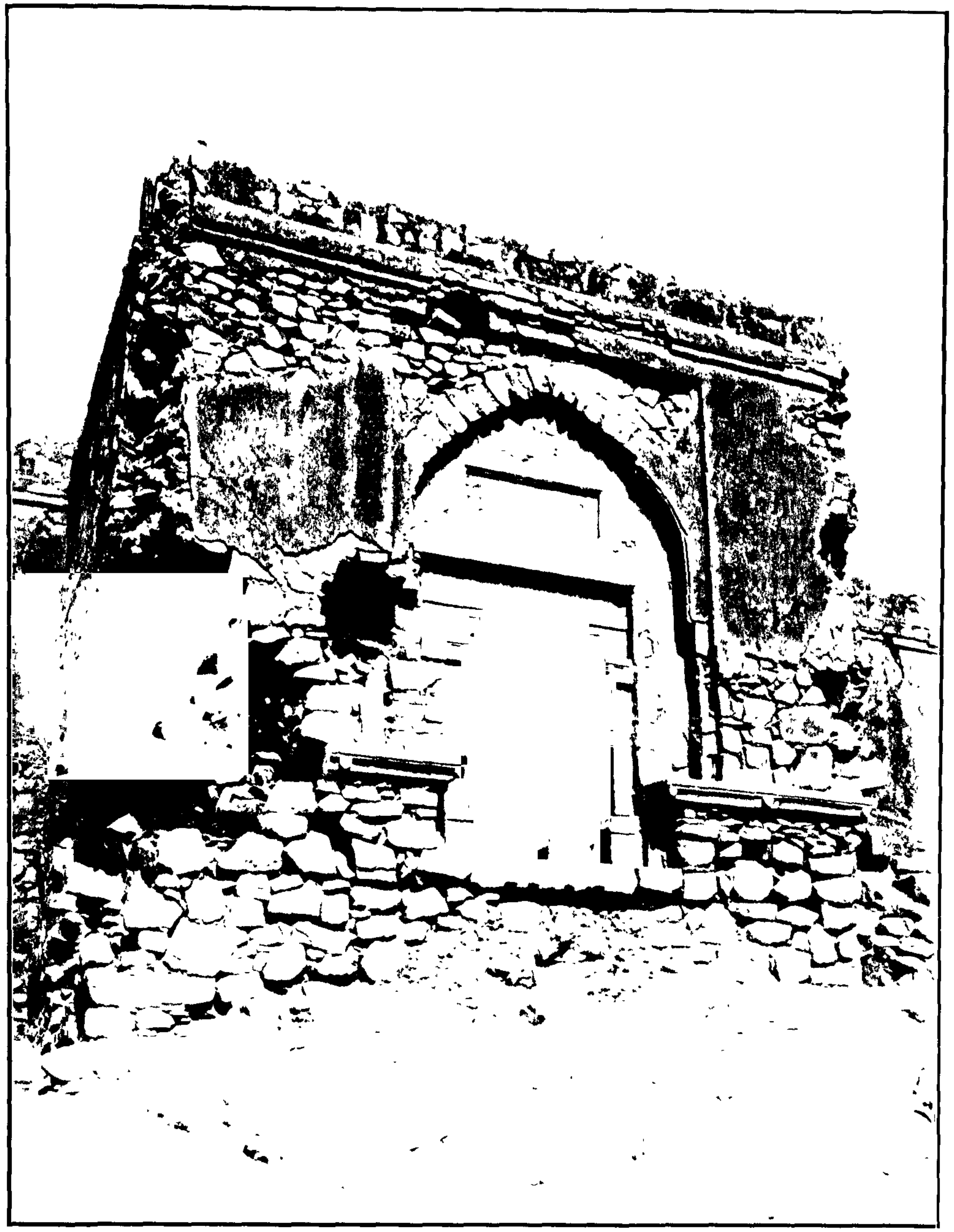
(a). TOMB OF JAHĀNĀRĀ.



(b). LANGAR KHĀNA AND THE EASTERN GATEWAY OF THE ENCLOSURE OF AMIR KHUSRAU.

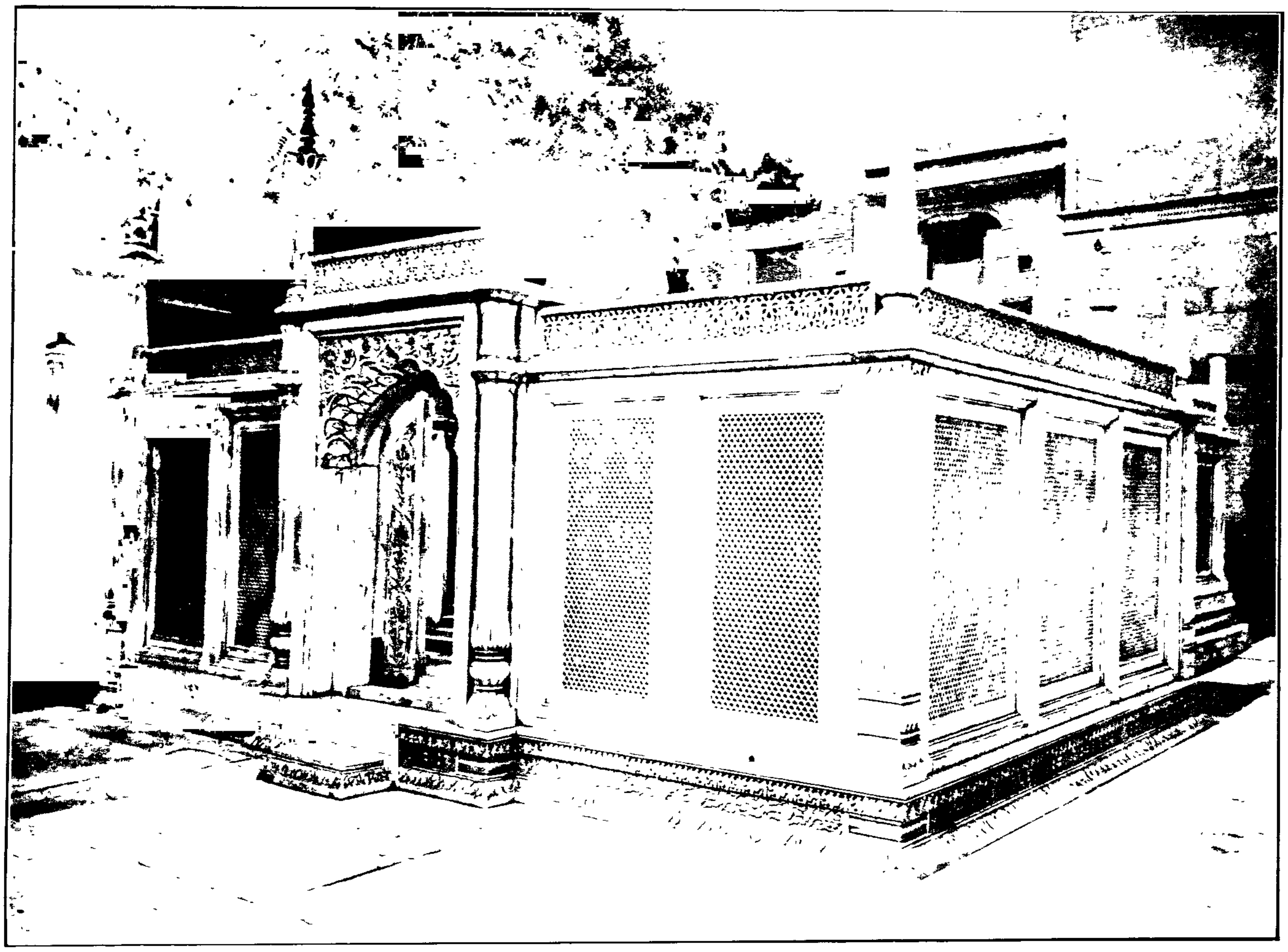


(a). INTERIOR VIEW OF THE TOMB OF JAHĀNĀRĀ, SHOWING THE INSCRIBED SLAB AT THE HEAD OF HER GRAVE.

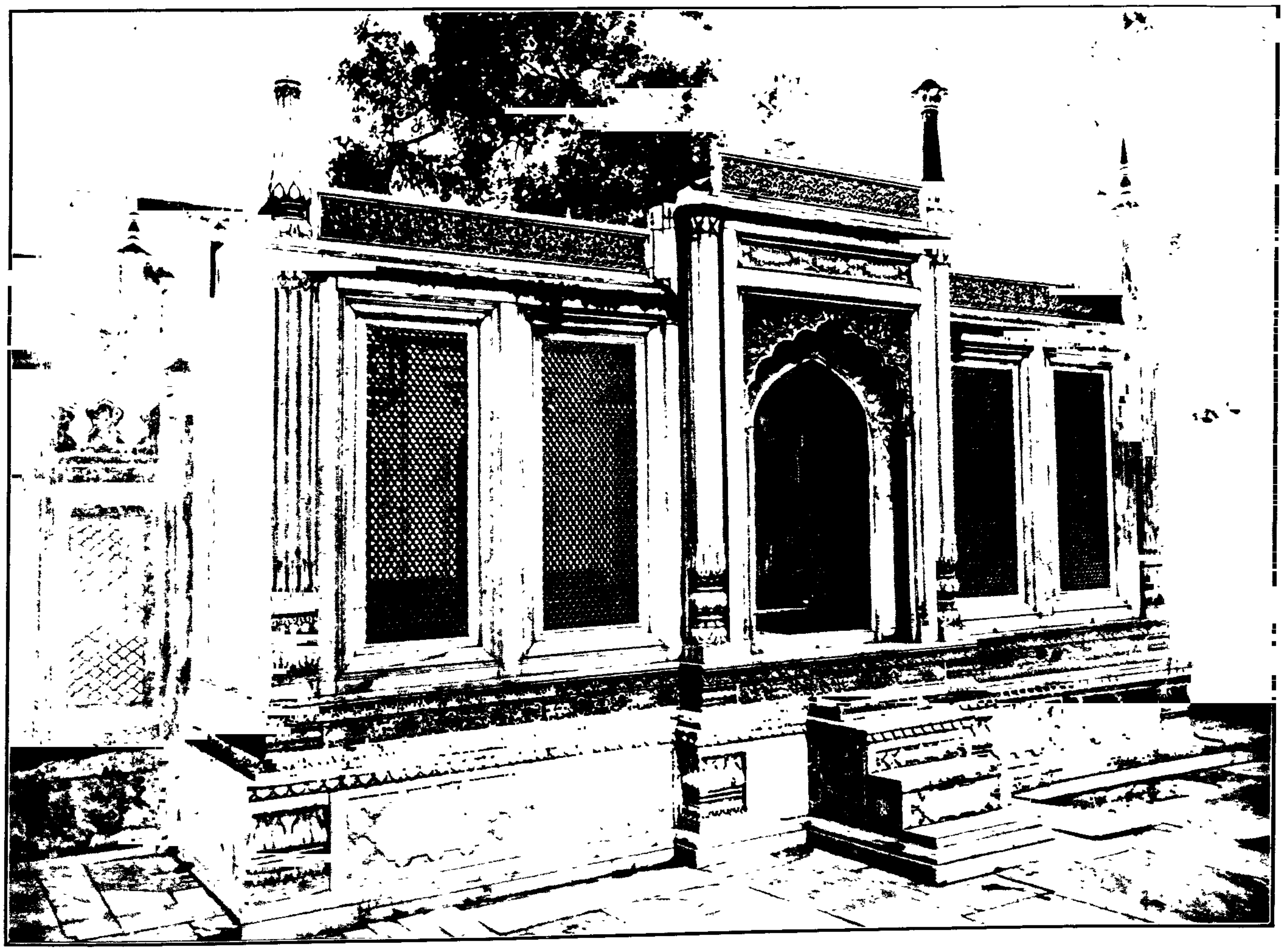


(b). EASTERN GATEWAY OF THE MOSQUE OF KHĀN-I JAHĀN, SHOWING THE INSCRIPTION.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta [illegible]

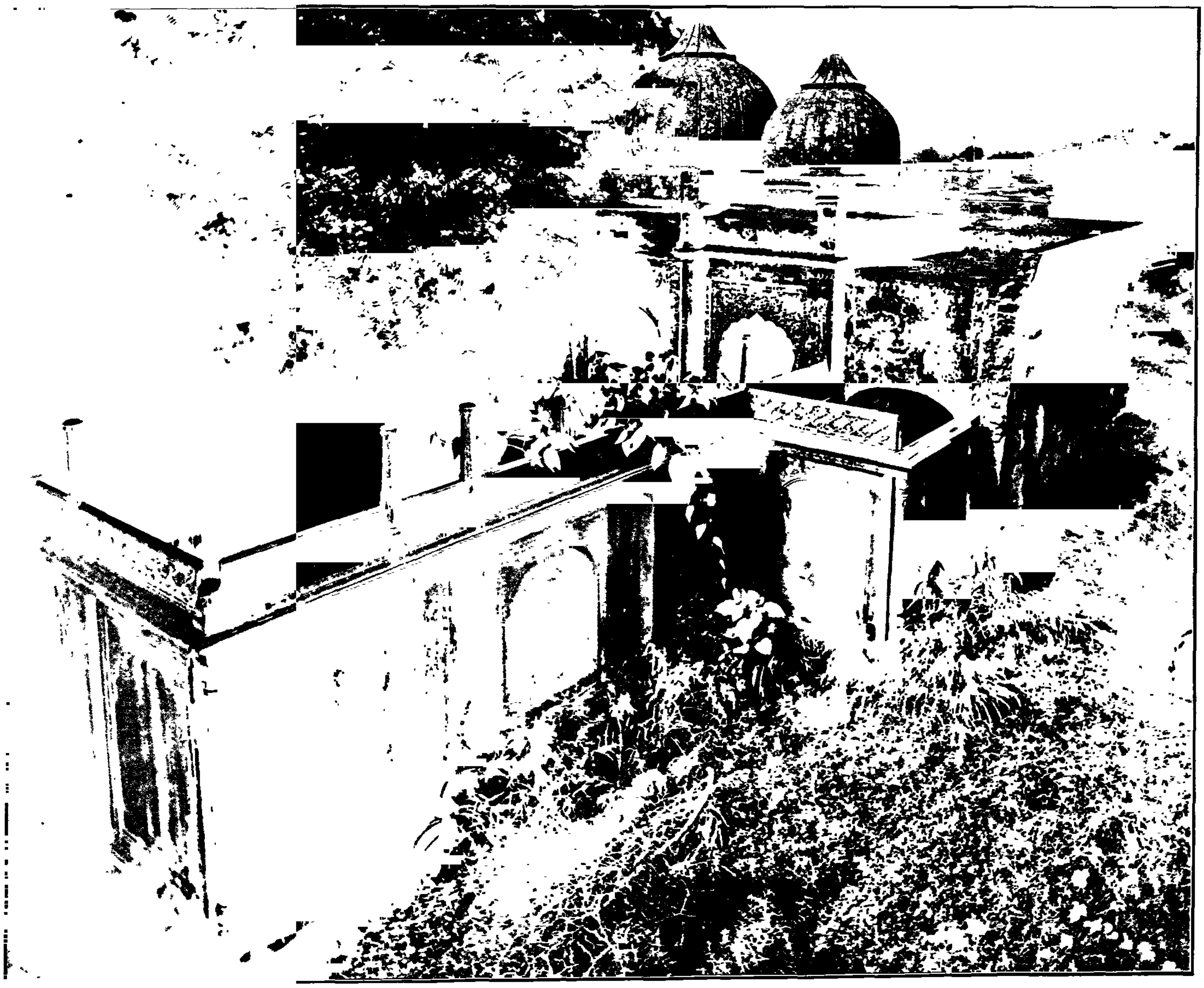


(a). TOMB OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH.

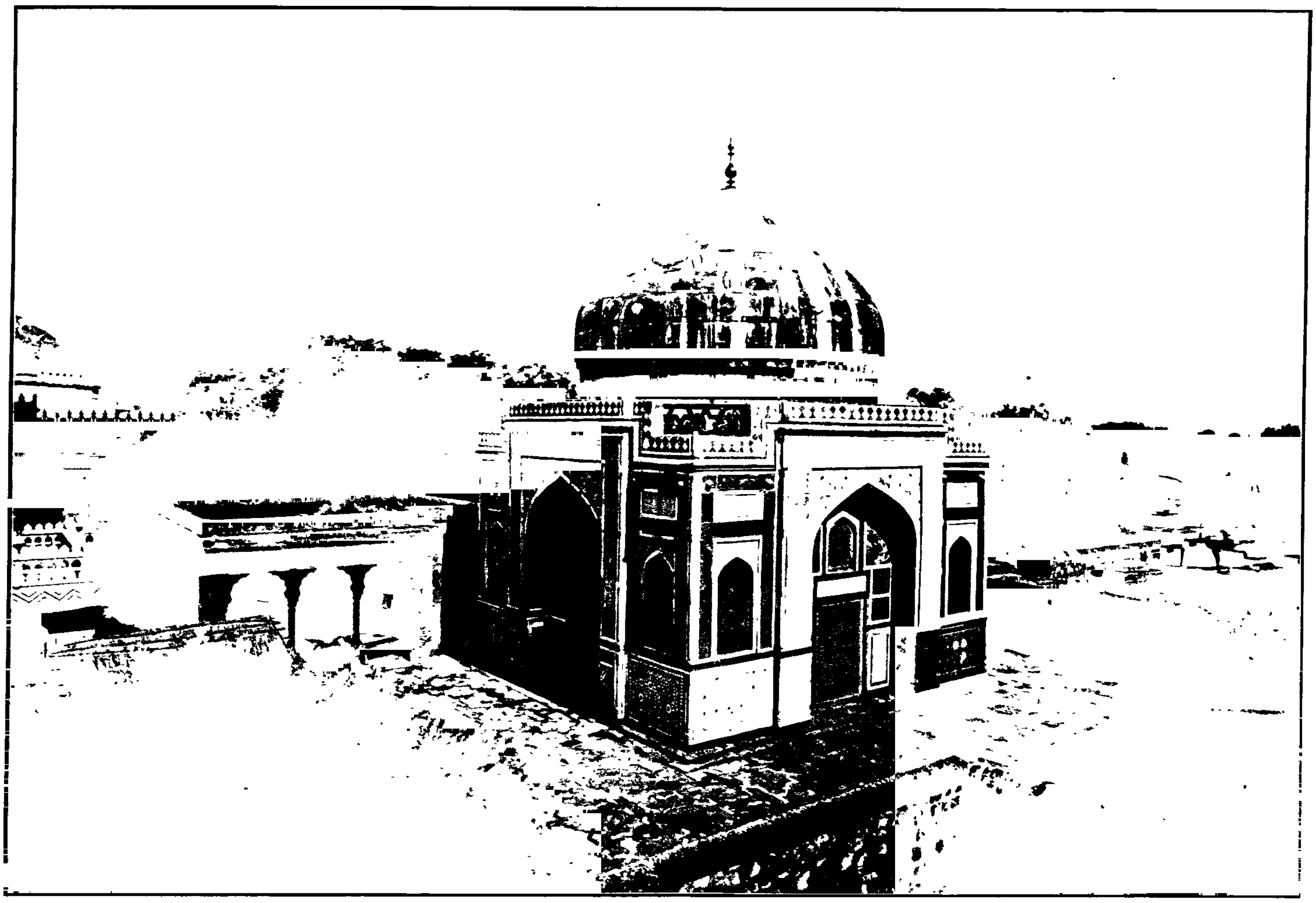


(b) TOMB OF MIRZĀ JAHĀNGIR.

(*a*). TOMB OF AMĪR KHUSRAU.

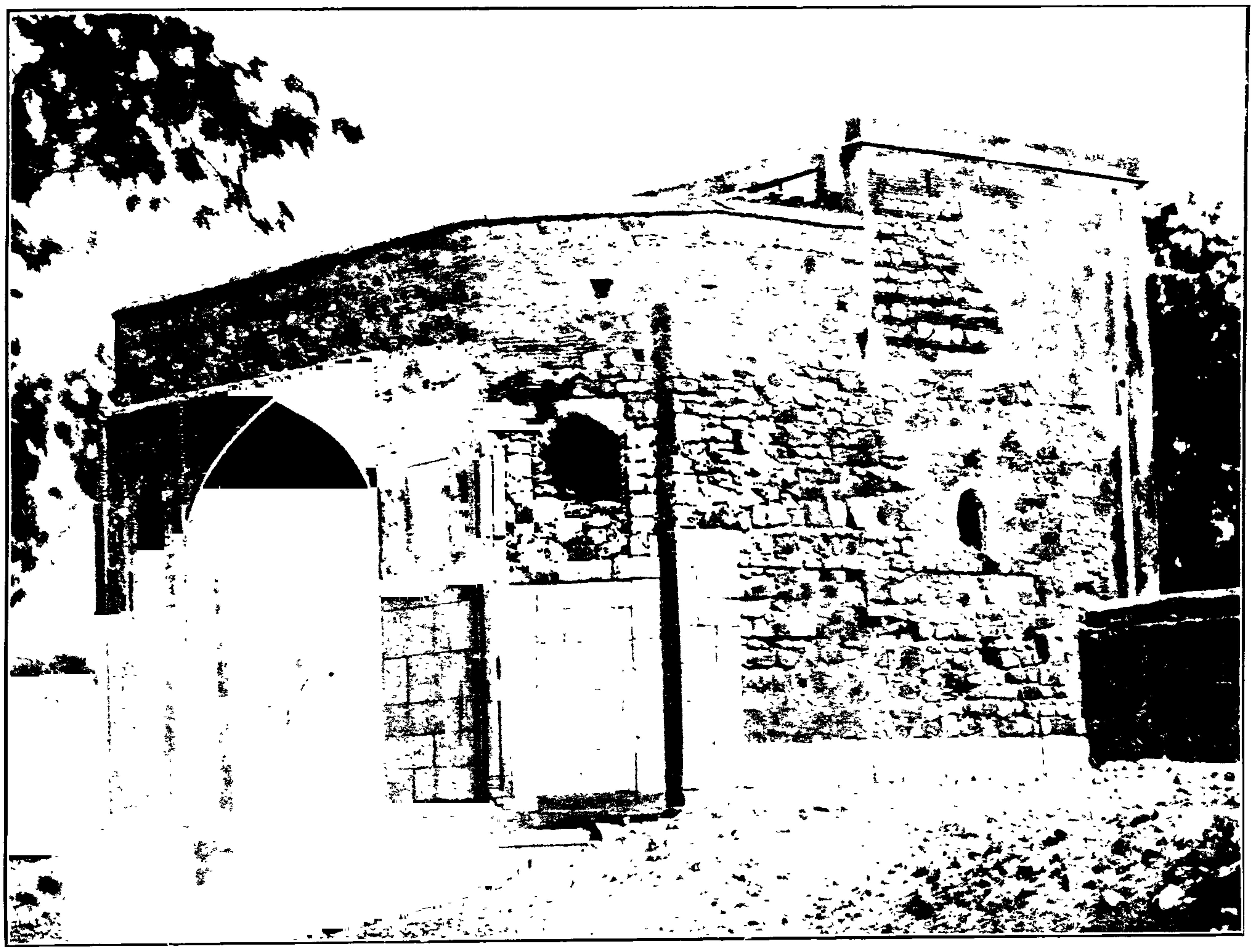


(*b*). MOSQUE OF KHĀN-I DAURĀN KHĀN.

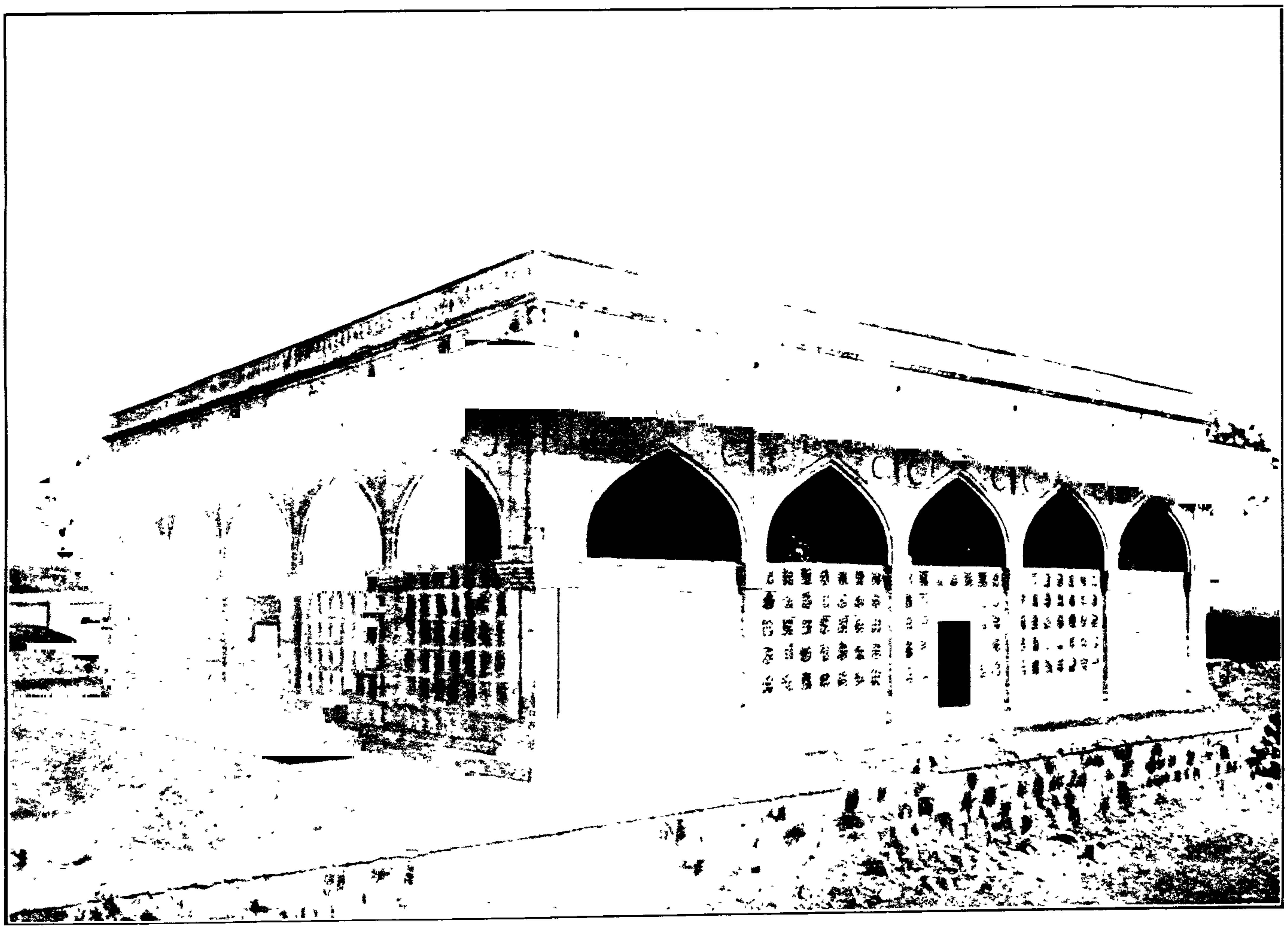


(*a*). Tomb of Atgah Khān.

(*b*). Inscribed mosque of Khān-i-Jahān Junān Shāh.

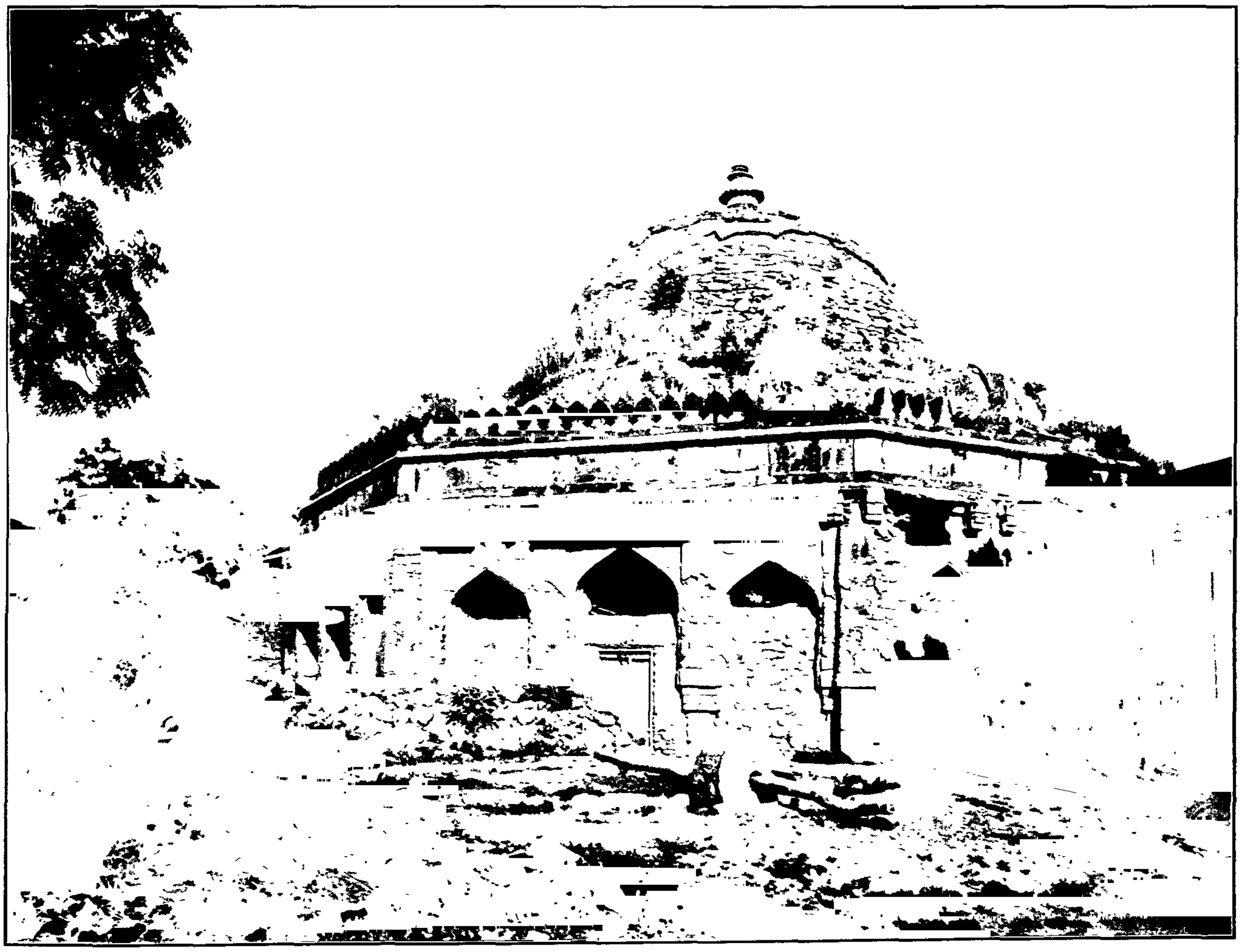


(*a*). NORTH GATE OF CHAUNSATH KHAMBA.



(*b*). CHAUNSATH KHAMBA.

(a). LĀL MAHALL



(b). TOMB OF KHĀN-I JAHĀN TILANGĀNĪ.

7/8/75